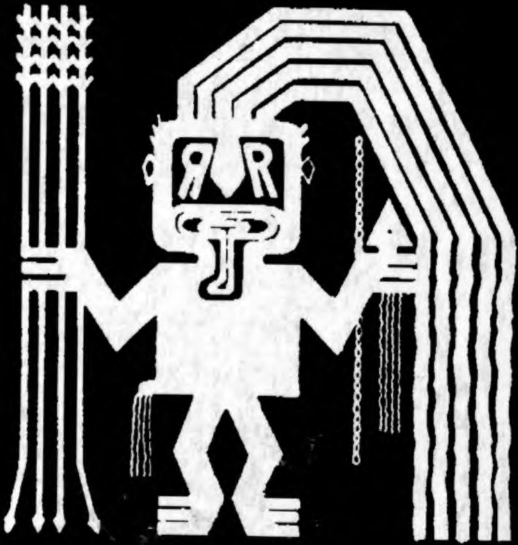
# GÖTEBORGS
# ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM
# ÅRSTRYCK
# 1987/1988



ANNALS

Omslagsbilden/front cover:
Anthropomorphic figure: details from a Paracas mantle border, Peru. 35.32.84.
The figure on the front cover is the museum´s logotype.
Drawing by Ingrid Midsem, Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum

# GÖTEBORGS
# ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM
# ÅRSTRYCK 1987/1988

# GÖTEBORGS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM, GÖTEBORG, SWEDEN

## Annual Reports for 1987/1988

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Editor:
Kjell Zetterström

ISSN 0280-3887
Citat & Xset Grafisk Produktion
Göteborg 1990

# NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

A museum is a living being and shares the fate of all other beings by having its ups and downs.

The financial situation of the City of Göteborg has deteriorated over the years involving a reduction of the budgets of the City's nine museums. With the reduced resources we, however, try to keep things going as can be seen from the annual reports in this issue. In our activities we concentrate on pre-school and school-children activities which are extremely rewarding, not in money but in experiences.

Besides the annual reports we, in this issue, present a number of papers on various topics. Dr. Sven-Erik Isacsson, Curator of the Museum's Department of the Americas, writes about Professor S. Henry Wassén's monograph on the Waunana Indians, first published in English in 1935 by our Museum. This monograph has now been published in Bogotá in a Spanish edition. My predecessor as Director of the Museum, Professor S. Henry Wassén, is the author of two papers; one dealing with Dr. Chanca, ship's doctor on Columbus's first voyage; the other is a very personal account of his old teacher and friend, Professor Erland Nordenskiöld, Director of the Museum from 1913 to 1932.

Mrs. Margareta Ekroth-Edebo has contributed a paper in which she, very competently, analyses samples from our collections of archeological textiles. Messrs. Arenas, Braunstein and Galafassi have written about the wooden saw, an object typical of the indigenous peoples of the Gran Chaco area.

Finally, I myself have produced a paper on Mano traditional law based on material collected in Liberia in 1966-1970, 1974 and 1975.

Kjell Zetterström
Director

# Paracas and Pachacamac Textiles from the Museum's Collections
## Morphological, chemical and physical analysis

by

**Margareta Ekroth-Edebo**

## Introduction

The Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum (GEM) has a remarkable collection of archaeological and ethnographical artifacts from South America. A prominent part of these are the ca 1300 archaeological textiles from pre-Columbian times, i.e. before A.D. 1492. Most of them derive from cultures on the coast of Peru, and most renowned are the textiles and associated artifacts from mummy bundles recovered from excavations on the Paracas peninsula, about 150 pieces. A major part of the Paracas objects were donated to GEM in 1935 by an anonymous donor. They are believed to come from one mummy bundle, although this has never been proven. Anne Paul concludes in her study, Etnologiska studier (1979), that they are iconographically, stylistically and technically closely related to the Necropolis material in the Museo Nacional de Antropologia y Arqueologia in Lima.

The Paracas mummy bundles were excavated from stone constructions below the ground in the dry and arid desert. The word paracas means dust storm in Quechua, a language spoken by the Incas. The textiles were therefore exceptionally well preserved both regarding the fibre material and textile structures as well as the richness of the colours, at the time they were excavated.

Apart from the collections of Paracas textiles in Lima and Göteborg there are other major collections in the U.S.A. and Europe.

Recently there has been great concern about the state of conservation of the pre-Columbian textiles from the Andean region. An advisory group was gathered in 1988, in Lima, Peru by the UNDP/UNESCO Regional Project and the Getty Conservation Institute. The aim was to initiate a dialogue among historians, anthropologists, archaeologists and conservators working with these materials and to survey the conservation and research facilities for pre-Columbian textiles worldwide (GCI Newsletter, vol III, no 3, 1988, p. 8).

## The State of the GEM Collection

It is evident that the aging of the pre-Columbian textiles in GEM has accelerated during the short period of storage and exhibition in the museum, compared to the long time in the burial grounds of the desert. In contrast to the almost sterile and anaerobic conditions in the dry desert they have been subjected to air pollutants and other detrimental factors in the environment of the museum. The influence of the environment on degradation of natural textile fibres and dyes is well documented. Textiles deteriorate naturally by photosensitization, oxidation, radiation, heat, mechanical stress, air pollutants, moisture, microbiological decomposition and chemicals used in conservation processes (Berry et al., 1977, pp. 228-248 and Vigo, 1977,pp. 189-207). ”The major effects of deterioration are strength loss, decreased molecular weight and degree of polymerisation which shortens the length of fibres, increased solubility, increased oxidation, changes in crystallinity and alterations in appearance and hand” (Berry et al., 1977, p 229).

About one third of the textiles in the GEM collection has been studied and the iconographic and stylistic aspects documented by Anne Paul (1979). Another five Paracas textiles have been reported earlier by Henry Wassén in Göteborgs Musei Årstryck, 1949 och 1950, pp. 213-222. No systematic technical investigation or documentation of the textiles, regarding their state of preservation, materials and techniques used, has been made. Such an investigation is essential for the understanding of the present condition of the textiles, causes of deterioration and how to prevent further damage by adequate storage and conservation. As Nabuko Kajitani, textile conservator at the Metropolitan Museum in New York points out: ”The first step in caring for museum fabrics is to understand them as materials” (Kajitani, 1977, p. 164). Any information of a preliterate society also helps us to understand it and provides information on the technology and ethnobiology of the culture that created the textiles.

## The Project ”Peruvian Textiles”

In order to save the textiles for the future, GEM, together with The Studio of the Western Sweden Conservators Trust (SVK), has initiated a joint effort. The purpose is to perform a thorough investigation of the state of the collection and to create optimum storage conditions for the textiles. The project aims not only at saving the textiles for future generations, but also at making a documentation of techniques and iconography and a technical examination of the fibres and identification of the dyes used. The following report is the result

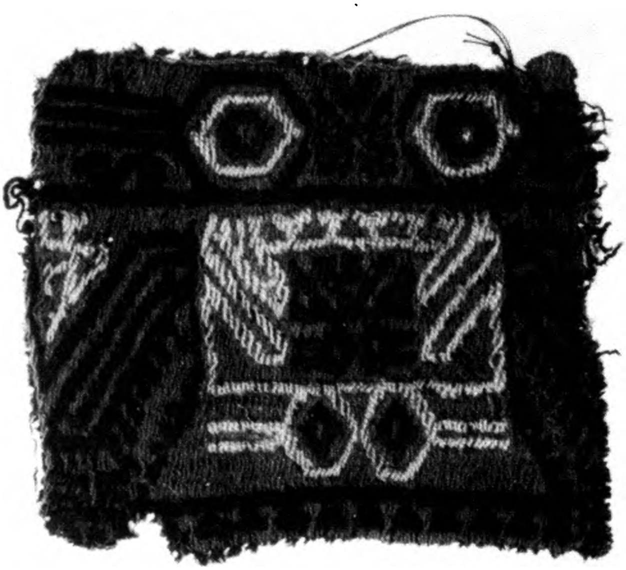

*Figure 1.*
*GEM 72.21.20.*

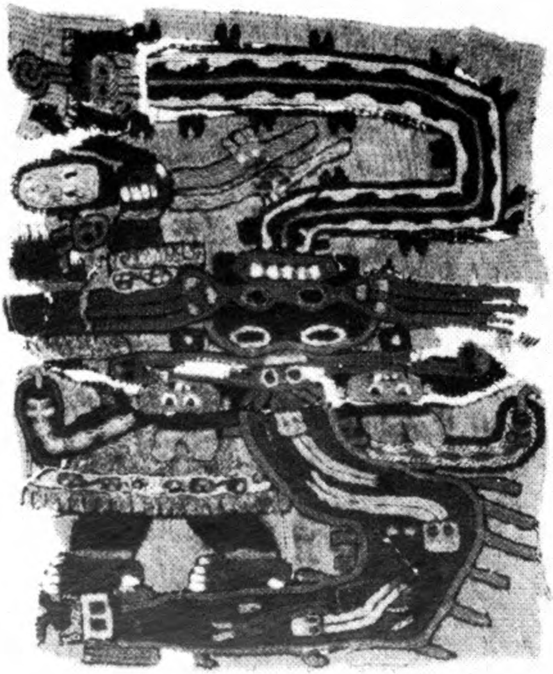

*Figure 2.*
*GEM 35.32.211*

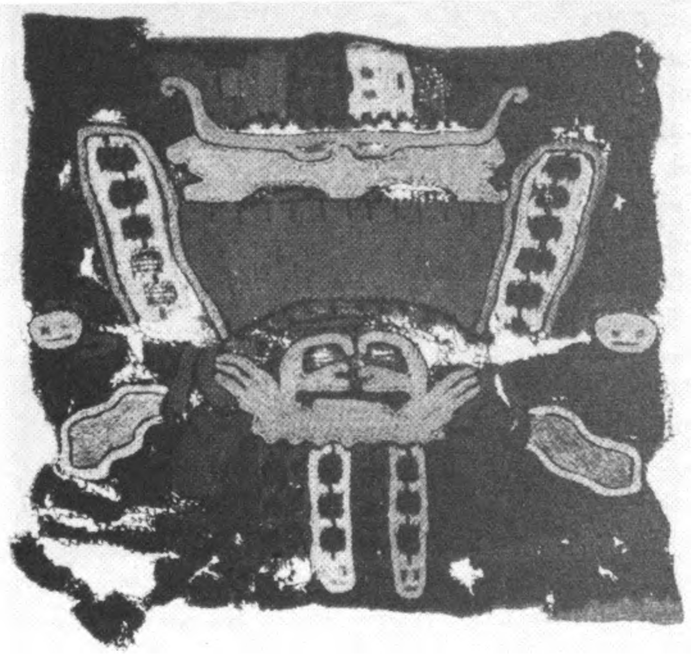

*Figure 3.*
*GEM 35.32.212.*

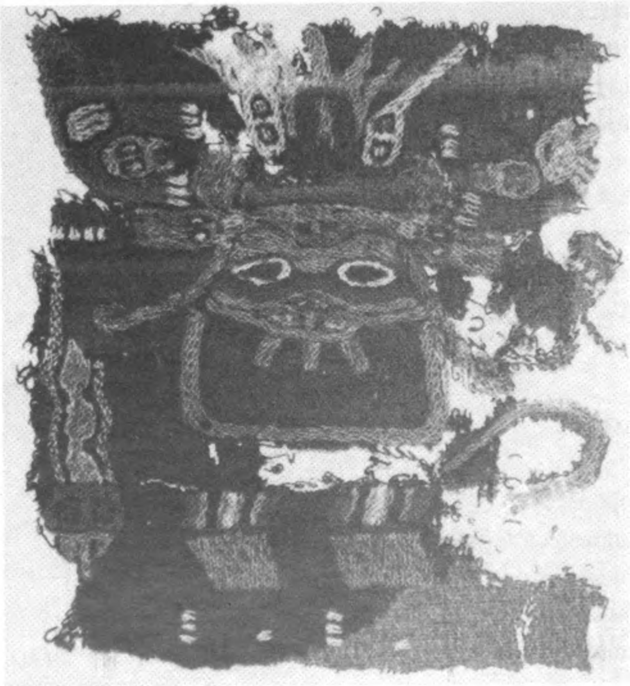

*Figure 4.*
*GEM 35.32.213*

of an extensive literature search concerning deterioration of natural fibres, assessment of deterioration damages and identification of natural dyes. Selected items have been investigated. Pilot technical investigations of textile fibres with Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM), dye identification by chromatography and UV-VIS spectroscopy as well as fibre analysis by X-ray diffraction have been performed on four embroidered textile fragments from Paracas and two woven bands from Pachacamac.

## Description of the six analysed textiles

1. Embroidered textile fragment (Figure 1), GEM 72.21.20. Length 85 mm, width 105 mm.

Ground cloth of plain weave with warp and weft of 2-ply dark blue wool. The embroidery, in covering stem stitch, is done in a linear style with red, dark blue, yellow and green 2-ply wool of similar twist and ply as in the ground weave. In the linear style "all elements of the design figure are created by series of narrow, closely spaced parallel lines" (Dwyer, 1971, p. 86). The linear style has a limited scale of colours composed of bright red, blue, green and yellow. The linear style is, according to Dwyer, representative of the temporal phases Early Horizon Epochs 9 and 10, i.e. at the end of the time period between 900-200 B.C.(Keatinge, 1988, p. XV).

2. Embroidered textile fragment (Figure 2), GEM 35.32.211. Length 125 mm, width 110 mm.

One out of eight similar fragments, probably from a mantle. Ground cloth of brownish-black cotton in plain weave. Covering stem stitch embroidery of 2-ply wool constructed according to the block colour mode. It "*consists of forms created with solid colour areas rather than with numerous multicoloured lines. The form is first outlined and then filled in completely with the same colour stitches...*" (Dwyer, 1971, p. 87). "*The block colour mode utilizes curved shapes, foreshortened forms, many iconographic details, and a range of colours wider than that used in the linear style...*" (Paul, 1979, p. 12). The block colour mode is according to Dwyer representative of the temporal phases Early Intermediate Period Epochs 1 and 2, i.e. at the beginning of the time period between 200 B.C.-A.D. 600 (Keatinge, 1988, p. XV). The technique of twining two threads of different colours together is typical for Epoch 2. This technique is found in GEM 35.32.211 and in fragment no. 4 in our investigation, i.e. GEM 35.32.213. (Dwyer, 1979, pp. 109-115).

3. Embroidered textile fragment (Figure 3), GEM 35.32.212. Length 135

mm, width 140 mm.

One out of 16 similar fragments from a mantle. Ground cloth of reddish-brown cotton in plain weave. Covering stem stitch embroidery of 2-ply wool in block colour mode.

4. Embroidered textile fragment (Figure 4), GEM 35.32.213. Length 95 mm, width 85 mm.

One out of 24 similar fragments from a mantle. Ground cloth of brownish-black cotton in plain weave. Covering stemstitch embroidery of 2-ply wool in block colour mode.

5. Woven band (Figure 5), GEM 21.6.20. Length 1200 mm, width 100 mm.

Tapestry weave with open splits. Warp of light beige-white cotton. The weft is mainly dyed or undyed 2-ply wool but in a few small areas the weft consists of undyed wool and cotton singles plied together.

6. Woven band (Figure 5), GEM 21.6.27. Length 1350 mm, width 80 mm.

Tapestry weave with open slits. Warp of undyed cotton, and weft of 2-ply cotton or wool in alternating areas.

The two woven bands are attributed to Pachacamac on the central coast of Peru. Pachacamac is believed to have been a major centre during the second half of the time period Middle Horizon and continued to be so in Late Intermediate times, i.e. the decades around A.D. 1000 (Keatinge, 1988, p XV and pp. 221-222).

## Natural dyes used in Pre-Columbian Peru

Early investigations of the dyes used in Paracas textiles by Fester (1940, 1951 & 1953) show that only three colours were used: red, blue and yellow. All the other colours and shades were produced by mixing the red, blue and yellow dyes in varying amounts on fibres with different natural colours. Most of the natural red and yellow dyes are mordant dyes, i.e. the dye formed is an insoluble colour lake with metallic oxides adsorbed or mordanted to the fibres. The colour or shade from a particular dye depends on the mordant used and the dyeing technique. Thus the colours obtained with cochineal can vary from a bluish-red to a chocolate brown or almost black depending on the mordant used.

Cochineal is made from the dried bodies of the female coccus insect, *Dactylopus coccus Costa*, which lives on a cactus, *Opuntia coccinellifera Mill.* The insect was cultivated in pre-Columbian Mexico and still grows on the host cactus today in Peru (Saltzman, 1987). According to ethnobotanists (Towle,

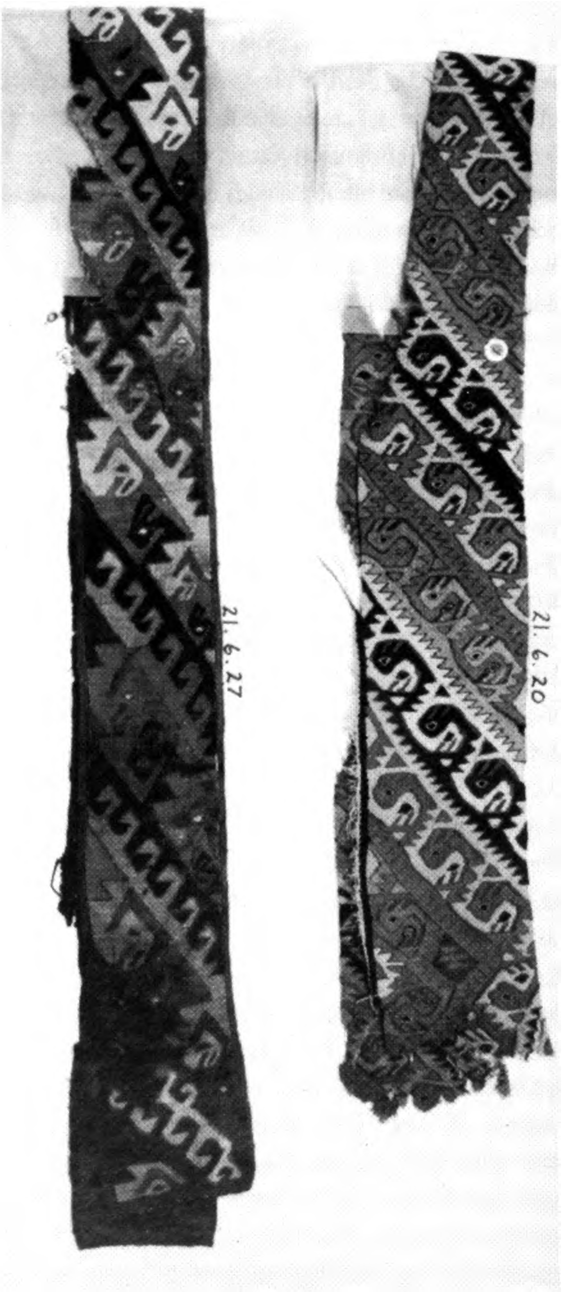

*Figure 5.*
*GEM 21.6.20. and 21.6.27.*

1961) the host cacti for cochineal have been established in Peru for thousands of years.

Another source of red dye used in pre-Columbian Peru reported by Fester (1940) is the relbunium plant. It is related to the madder *(Rubia tinctoria)* of the Old World. At least 25 species of the *Relbunium* genus are believed to be native to South America according to ethnobotanical investigations and specimens of *Relbunium nitidum* have been reported from archaeological excavations on the Peruvian peninsula (Towle, 1961). Dr Max Saltzman of the UCLA, has described a recent expedition to Peru, with the aim to collect "all available dye plants listed by early chroniclers and by ethnobotanists" (Saltzman, 1987). They accomplished to find several varieties of relbunium with the same identification characteristics as red dyes from Paracas textiles. The principal dye components in *Relbunium* species are purpurin and pseudopurpurin. Madder contains in addition, alizarin (Schweppe, 1986).

The blue colour in dyed Peruvian textiles has, in all the reported investigations (Fester, Saltzman & Schweppe), been identified as indigo from plants of the genus *Indigofera*. Dyeing with indigo alone can give a variety of blue shades and even black depending on the dyeing technique and the natural colour of the fibres. In combination with a yellow or a red natural dye all shades of green and violet can be obtained.

The purple colour can be produced from a single purple dye which is produced by extraction of the secretions of the hypobranchial glands of several Mediterranean marine snails, *Murex* spp. The use of purple dye from marine snails by the Phoenicians during the thirteenth century B.C. has been shown by McGovern and Michel (1985). Off the coast of Mexico and the west coast of South America there are related marine snails, e.g. *Purpura patula pansa Gould*, which are still used for dyeing in Mexico today. Saltzman (1987) reports of thorough investigations as to the use of purple dye from marine snails in ancient Peruvian textiles, since it has been known for some time that these snails were available to the pre-Columbian Peruvians. He concludes: "It is quite clear that these snails provide materials that could have been used by the early Peruvians to paint their textiles. We say paint, not dye, because all of the Peruvian samples containing shellfish purple that we have examined seem to have the colour applied to one side of the cloth;...". All samples of dyed purple fibres in his report were dyed with indigo together with a red natural dye.

The principal colouring compound in indigo is indigotin and in the marine snails it is dibromoindigotin. The two can be clearly distinguished by e.g. UV-

VIS spectrometry or chromatography.

Most of the yellow natural dyes are flavonoid compounds, which are widely distributed in the vegetable world. In a study of yellow dyes in ancient textiles Hofenk-de Graaff and Roelofs (1978) came to the conclusion that since the same dye compounds occur in so many different species it is seldom possible to make an accurate identification of the plant used.

In contrast to the yellow dyes, the red dyes are few and more specific to a limited number of plants or insects. Identification of red dyes in ancient textiles is therefore a useful tool in tracing their origin. Furthermore red dyes were very valuable and traded over large distances. Due to their cost they were mainly used for cloths and artifacts by more well-to-do families or rulers.

From the work by Fester (1953) we know that relbunium is often found in textiles from Paracas, whereas cochineal is common in textiles from Nasca (Early Intermediate Period, 200 B.C.-A.D. 600) and Chimu (Late Intermediate Period, A.D. 1000-1476). In an investigation of 150 samples from 40 Paracas mummy bundles, dating from 1100 B.C. to A.D.IOO, Saltzman (1987) found only 3 out of 141 samples to be cochineal. The others were identified as relbunium. In agreement with Fester, Saltzman has found cochineal to be frequent in textiles from Nasca. He has also found cochineal on samples of Moche material (A.D. 200-500) from controlled excavations. In textiles from one grave lot in Ica, Peru, dated to A.D.1050 to 1170, all the reds were obtained from carminic acid (Geiss-Mooney & Needless, 1981).

## Dye identification of the GEM textiles

All analysis techniques depend on access to relevant reference material for comparison. Indigo and cochineal do not pose any problem since both dyes are still used today and the pure dye substances indigotin and carminic acid are also available. In the case of relbunium dyeings the pure substances purpurin and pseudopurpurin are also possible to obtain but no one uses relbunium plants for dyeing textiles nowadays. Fortunately the problem was solved by Dr Saltzman, who generously provided a woolen thread dyed with *Relbunium hypocarpium* from Peru. Thanks to Dr Saltzman reference material dyed with extract from the marine snail *Purpura patula pansa Gould* was also provided.

The choice of methods for identification of dyes in historic textiles is restricted to techniques with high sensitivity since in most cases only very small samples are available. In these investigations the analytical techniques employed were thin-layer-chromatography (TLC) for composite dyes such as madder or relbunium, and solution spectroscopy for cochineal and other single dyes. In addition, sensitive colour reactions have been used to identify indigo, yellow flavonoid dyes, brown natural dyes and to show if iron has been used in connection with black and brown dyeings. In the case of mixed dyeings with indigo and a red or a yellow dye, indigo was first extracted from the fibres whereupon the remaining red or yellow dye on the fibres could be identified.

In an attempt to find out which mordants were used by the ancient Peruvians, all shades of red, one natural white and one black sample from the Paracas textile GEM 35.32.211 were tested by Particle Induced X-ray Emission (PIXE).The analyses were performed by Erik Swietlicki, Department of Physics, University of Lund. Preliminary results indicate that the bright red and black relbunium dyeings have high iron contents but no aluminum. Brownish-red dyeings have almost equal contents of aluminum and iron, and one scarlet dyeing has a high content of aluminum but almost no iron. The amount of copper was very low in all dyeings except the bright red.

In the four embroidered textiles from Paracas all pink, red and brownish-red dyeings showed the same separation pattern as the known relbunium dyeing when tested with TLC. Blue, green, violet and bluish-black dyeings proved to be dyed with indigo, as did the dark brown, almost black, ground cloth of cotton in GEM 35.32.211. After extraction of indigo from the violet and green dyeings the presence of red and yellow plant dye could be shown, respectively.

In conclusion dye analysis of the four Paracas textiles show that:

- Pink, red and brownish-red fibres were dyed with a red plant dye, probably from relbunium plants, - Blue fibres were dyed with indigo,
- Green fibres were dyed with indigo and a yellow natural dye belonging to the class of hydroxyflavones, - Violet fibres were dyed with indigo and a red plant dye, probably from a relbunium sp.,
- Dark blue and almost black fibres were dyed either with indigo alone on naturally dark fibres or together with red or brown plant dye.

Very brittle dark brown fibres showed a positive reaction for iron and were probably dyed with a vegetable tannin which in that case explains the bad condition of these fibres.

In one of the woven bands from Pachacamac, GEM 21.6.20, all the coloured threads, pink, scarlet, brownish-pink, cinnamonbrown and dark purple were dyed with cochineal which was shown by solution spectrophotometry. In the decorative pattern, areas of purple and cinnamon-brown colour alternate abruptly. This might indicate that they were originally the same colour, but due to the action of different mordants the colour has changed in different ways. A strong positive reaction for iron in the purple thread might indicate that iron was used as a mordant.

In the other Pachacamac band, GEM 321.6.27, the blue threads were dyed with indigo and the pink and scarlet threads with cochineal.

## Fibre examinations

The mechanical strength of the fibres in the textiles show great variation from one textile to another and also depending on kind of fibre and dyeing.

In general the three embroidered Paracas fragments GEM 35.32.211-213 are very brittle while the other three are comparatively mechanically resistant. The ground cloth of cotton in the fragile textiles seems to be the "weak link" and the cause of the breaking up of the embroideries. This is especially evident for the two textiles with very dark brown, almost black cotton ground cloth. A sample from one of these revealed a high content of iron, when analysed by PIXE, which might indicate the use of iron as a mordant. Iron is a so called prooxidant, which means that it catalyses oxidative reactions e.g. chain-scisson, which leads to a lower degree of polymerisation (DP) of cellulose molecules. In a dry surrounding this does not necessarily bring about a change of crystallinity and structure of the fibre as shown in Figure 6. Indeed the cellulose fibre is likely to become more crystalline when degraded in a dry state (personal communication with Prof. Kåre Larsson, Kemicentrum, University of Lund). An increase in crystallinity and decrease in DP of the cellulose molecule makes the fibre very brittle and susceptible to water. X-ray diffraction analysis of one of the cotton ground cloths indicates that the degraded cellulose fibres in the sample were more crystalline, with several crystalline forms, than modern undegraded cotton.

SEM was used to study fibre morphology and damage. Figure 7 shows one embroidery stitch of red wool around a cotton thread in the ground cloth of GEM 35.32.211. It is evident that the wool fibres in this case are stronger than the cellulose fibres which show blunt fracture tips characteristic of brittle degraded cotton (Berry at al., 1977, pp. 241-246). These cotton fibres also possess a granular and deteriorated surface as shown in Figure 8. The wool fibres are generally stronger than the cotton fibres, but the tensile strength varies considerably depending on the dye and the mordant used. The undyed, naturally white fibres have a surprisingly good tensile strength and fibre morphology considering their age and history, and so do most of the blue, light green, pink and yellow woolen threads. One sample of this is shown in Figure 9. Most of the orange, red, violet, dark green and brown fibres are very brittle and break at the slightest touch, with a characteristic smooth fibre fracture surface perpendicular to the fibre axis indicating a decrease of the DP (Figures 10 and 11). The morphology of the surfaces is however generally intact. Most degraded are the dark brown and some of the bright red woolen threads which have completely lost their fibrillar structure. Many of these extensively degraded threads showed a high content of iron in the dye analysis.

The textile fragment GEM 72.21.20, is made entirely of wool and the fibres generally have a larger diameter than the fibres in the other three, supposedly younger Paracas embroideries. The threads have, independent of colour, good tensile strength. When studied by SEM the scale structure of the fibres have a worn appearence and many of the blue fibres have deep longitudinal cracks with granular deposits and unsharp edges (Figure 12). Most of the fractures perpendicular to the fibre axis, shown in Figure 13, are also rounded and probably original to the threads or at least of old age.

The two woven bands from Pachacamac have warp yarns of undyed cotton. In GEM 21.6.20 it is interesting to see the variation of the fineness and choice of fibres in the weft. The light pink areas are made of very fine and even wool fibres, while the darker contours consist exclusively of very thick animal fibres. The undyed, purple or cinnamon brown areas contain a mixture of fine and thick wool fibres. Some small naturally mixed areas are woven with yarn made out of one cotton single and one wool single plied together. The purple colours are more brittle than the other colours. Some of the cotton fibres have helical breaks, (Figure 14), along the fibrils in the cell wall, which according to Wentz (1986, p.219) might be a result of water treatment of old cotton fibres. In the other woven band, GEM 21.6.27, which has abruptly alternating areas of pink cotton and wool threads, it is interesting to see that the cotton fibres have a much paler pink shade than the woolen fibres. The cochineal dye has a higher affinity to protein than to cellulose and if one assumes that the colour intensity was the same when the textile was made, the pale pink colour of the cotton threads might be a result of water washing. The indigo dyed-areas also have a dull worn appearence which is typical of indigo dyed cotton after being washed in water.

## Conclusion

These preliminary investigations of the Paracas and Pachacamac textiles

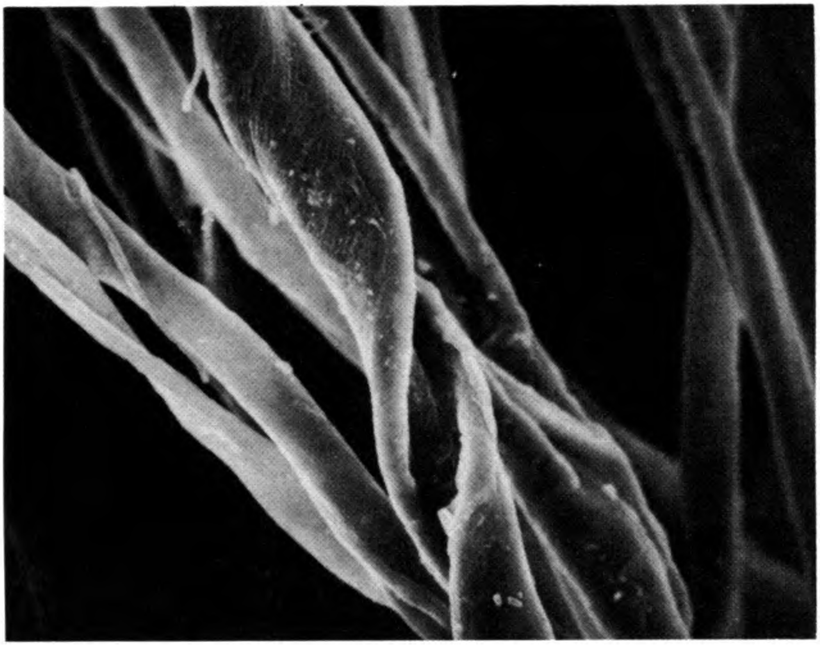

*Figure 6.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of cotton fibres in GEM 35.32.213 (750x).*

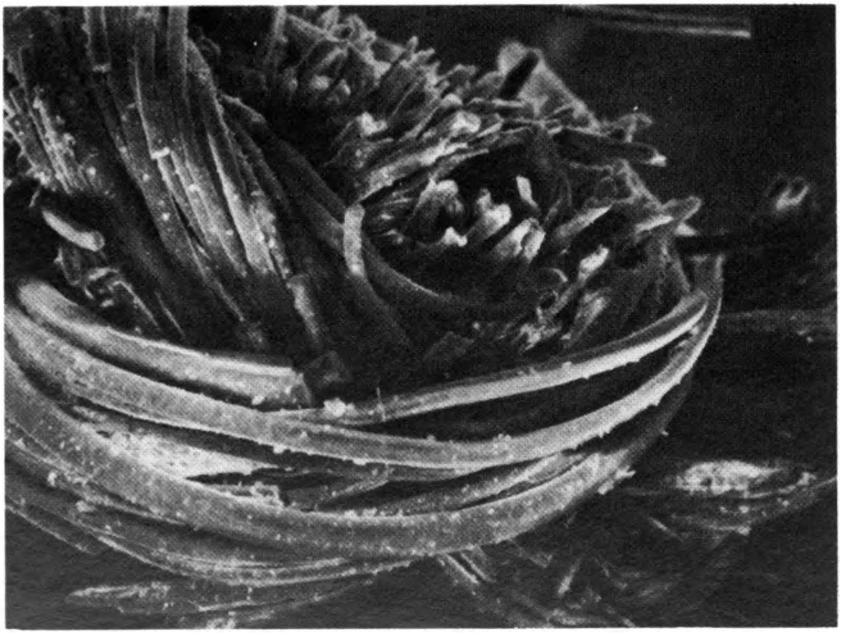

*Figure 7.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of embroidery stitch of red wool around a fractured cotton thread in GEM 35.32.211 (150x).*

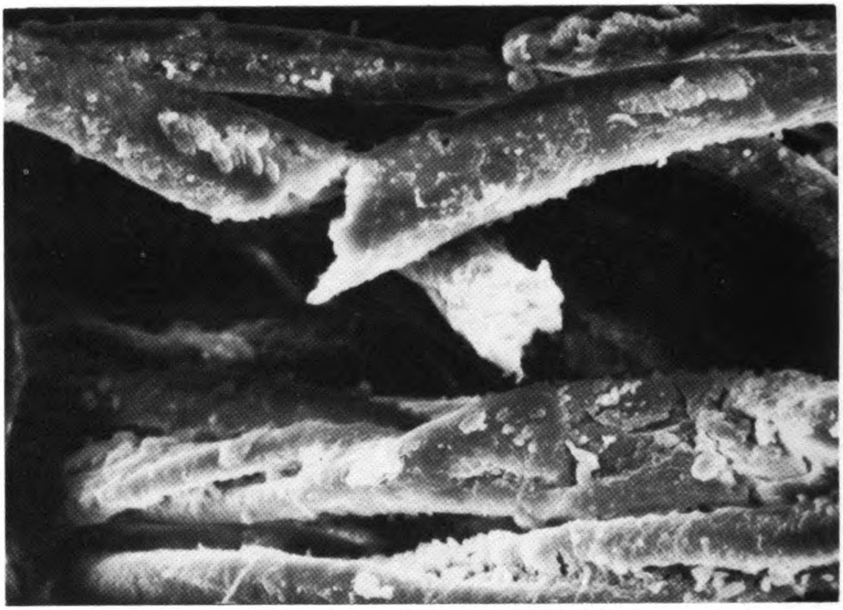

*Figure 8.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of cotton thread in GEM 35.32.211 (750x).*

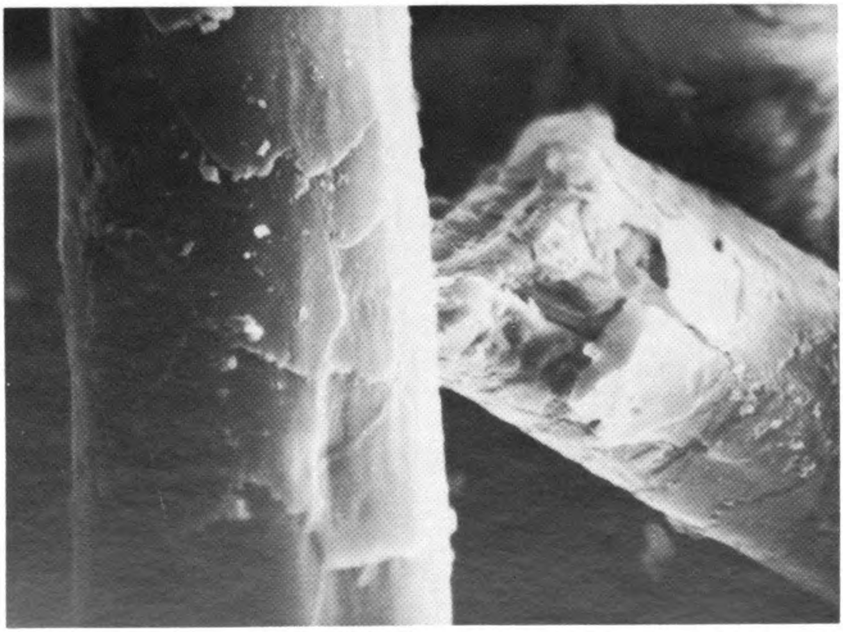

*Figure 9.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of naturally white wool fibres in GEM 35.32.213 (2000x).*

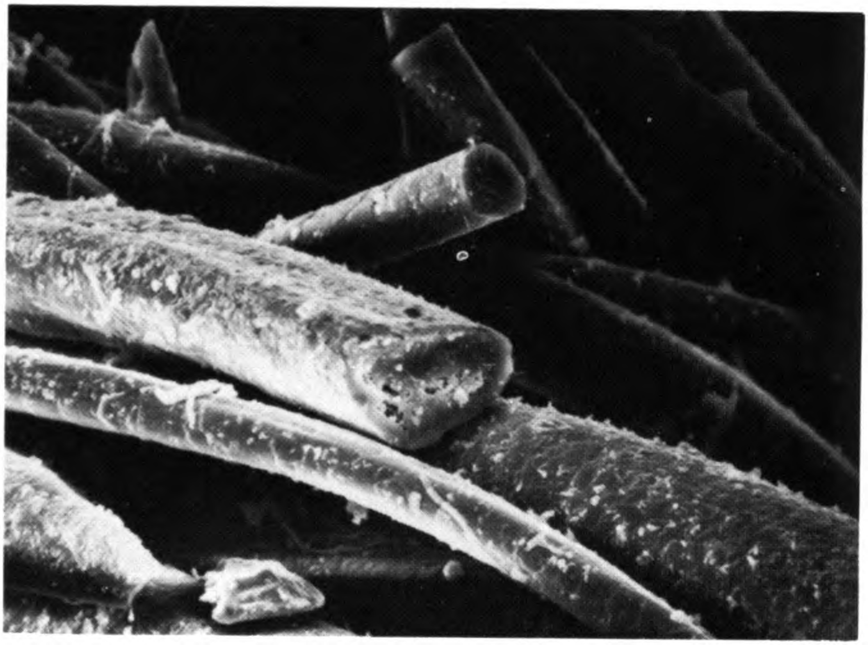

*Figure 10. Scanning electron micrograph of blue wool fibres in GEM 35.32.213, showing fracture tips characteristic of very brittle wool fibres (500x).*

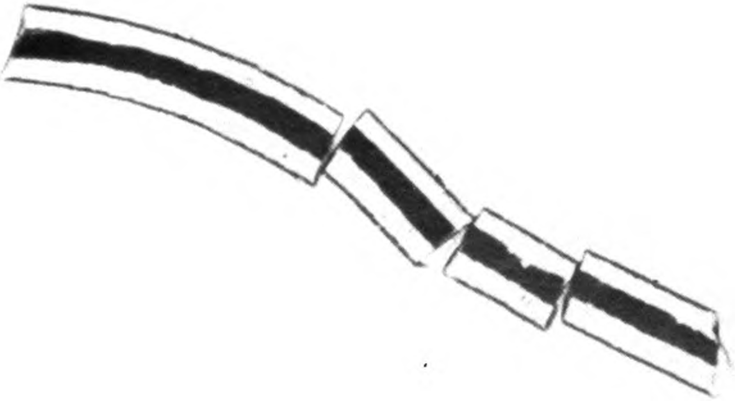

*Figure 11. Micrograph of fractured red wool fibre in GEM 35.32.211.*

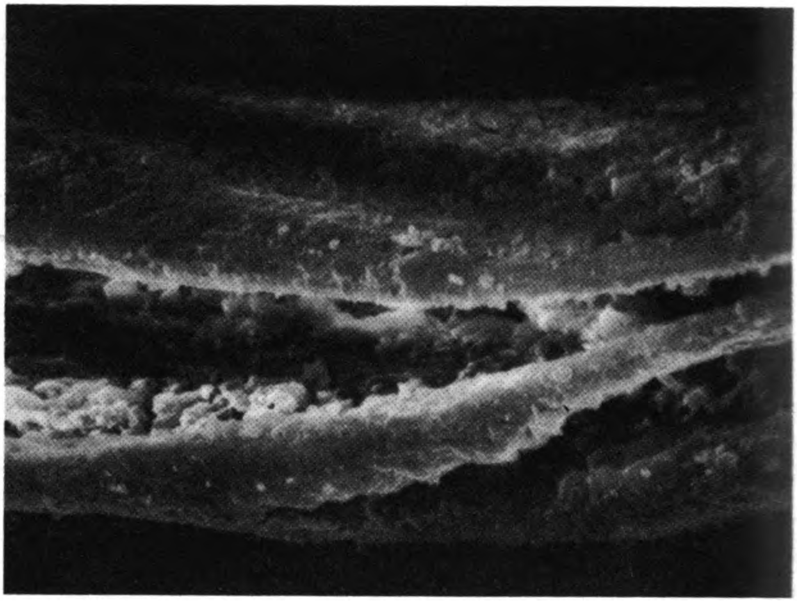

*Figure12.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of blue wool fibres in GEM 72.21.20 (1500x).*

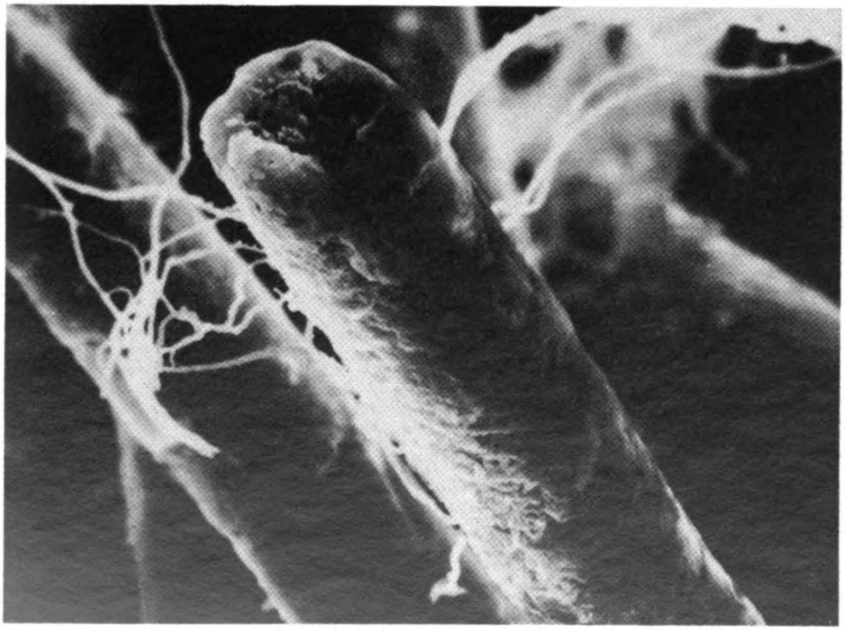

*Figure 13.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of red wool fibres in GEM 72.21.20 (1500x).*

have shown, in agreement with earlier findings, that there is a regularity in the choice of raw material for the textile fibres and the dyes and mordants employed for colouring them. This will contribute to the understanding of the ethnology of the Paracas and Pachacamac people producing the textiles and their contacts with other cultures.

Furthermore, these analyses have shown that adequate conservation and storage of the textiles is urgent in order to save them for future generations, since the deterioration has accelerated alarmingly after the textiles were removed from their burial grounds. The degree of deterioration, brought about in their present environment, is dependant e.g. on the type of textile fibre, dye and mordant used. Particularly the presence of iron in textiles made from cotton/plant material was correlated to fractures of the cellulose fibres and disintegration of the textile structure. Careful analysis is therefore needed both in order to extract ethnological information from these unique cultural objects and to guide conservation and future storage. With more detailed information about the state of the objects the immediate conservation as well as future preservation can be more properly arranged.

## Acknowledgment

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Prof. Björn Hallström of the Royal Swedish Academy College of Art in Stockholm, for introducing me to several different methods of analysis for works of art, including the use of Scanning Electron Microscopy.

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| GEM | Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum |
| PIXE | Particle Induced X-ray Emission |
| SEM | Scanning Electron Microscopy |
| TLC | Thin-Layer-Chromatography |
| UV-VIS | UltraViolet-VISible light |

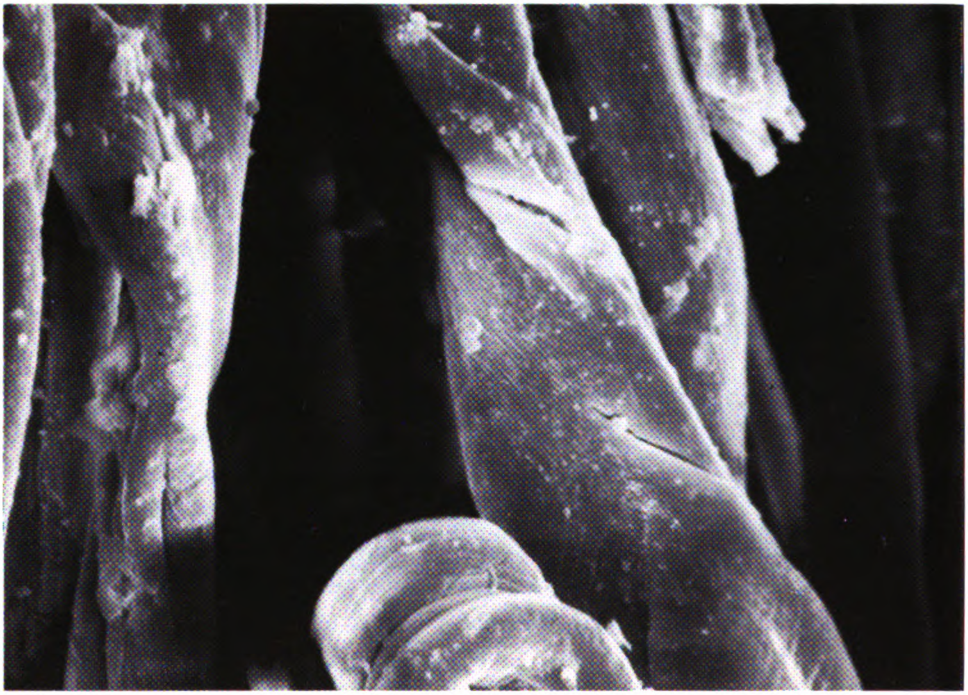

*Figure 14.*
*Scanning electron micrograph of cotton fibres in the warp of GEM 21.6.20 (1000x).*

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# La Sierra de Madera de los Indígenas del Gran Chaco

**P. Arenas *, J.A. Braunstein ****
**y G.P. Galafassi *****

## Introducción

Se tienen someras noticias sobre el uso de una sierra de madera, que fue empleada por algunos indígenas del Gran Chaco. Este instrumento fue brevemente mencionado por Nordenskiöld (1912: 46, 104; 1929: 70-72) y luego el dato fue reproducido -más escuétamente aún- por Métraux (1946: 286) y Susnik (1982: 187).

Tal como lo presenta Nordenskiöld (1912), el instrumento se utiliza tanto en relación a las técnicas vinculadas con los procesos de preparación de las láminas foliares para la fabricación de hilos (l.c., 104), como para el consumo de la planta durante su recolección (l.c., 46) (1). También, aún más brevemente, menciona su empleo para raspar las raíces de la mandioca (Nordenskiöld 1929: 70) (2). El material reunido por el etnógrafo sueco proviene del grupo indígena Ashluslay, más conocido en la literatura con los nombres Chulupí o Nivaklé.

Durante un viaje de investigación entre los Manjuy (3) del Chaco paraguayo, se pudieron realizar observaciones sobre el instrumento (Cf. Fig. 1 A).

En el viaje mencionado, pudo determinarse que su función entre esta etnia es la de cortar o tronchar la planta, a fin de separar las láminas foliares de la roseta de las bromeliáceas. Es de resaltar, sin embargo, que el uso registrado por nosotros se limita únicamente al instrumental de la alimentación; es decir, para el momento del consumo de estas plantas. También pudieron observarse algunos instrumentos de este tipo en museos y en un sitio arqueológico.

A fin de aportar datos para la comprensión del uso de este instrumento y de sus características, se proveen algunos detalles sobre las peculiaridades botánicas de las bromeliáceas involucradas, así como del útil y su modo de empleo.

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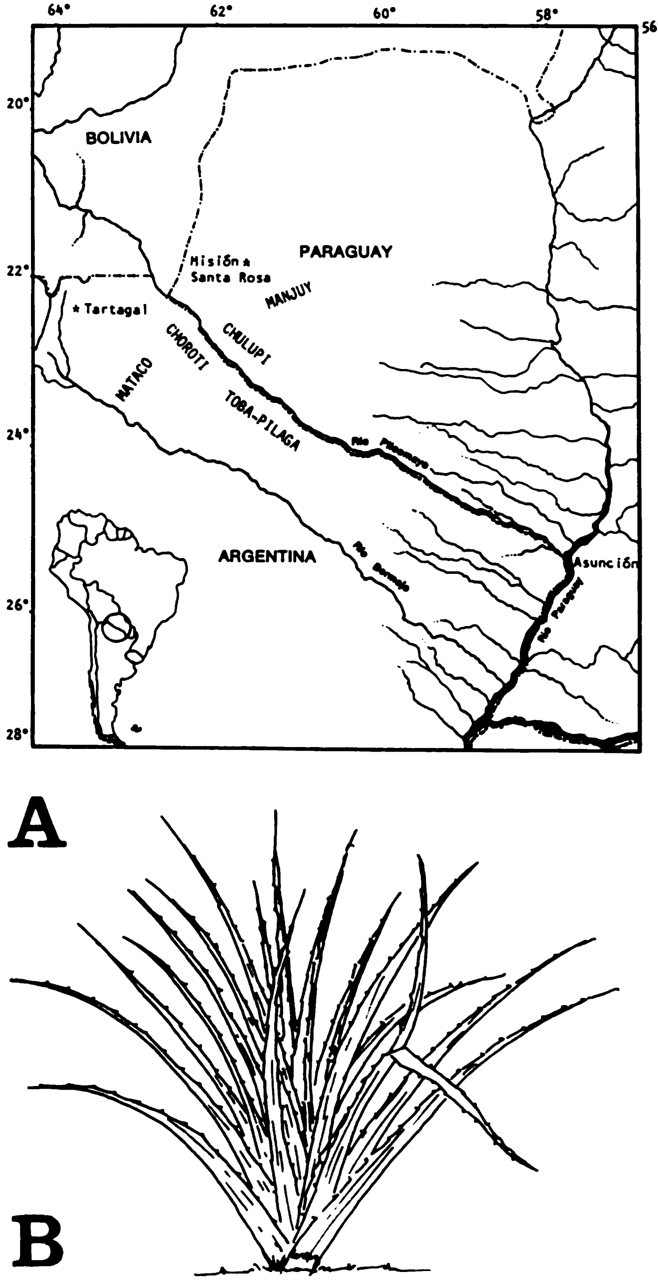

*Figura 1.* *A) Localización de las etnias mencionadas.*
*B)* ***Bromelia*** *sp., aspecto general, muy reducido.*

## Las especies de bromeliáceas utilizadas

Varias especies de esta familia son componentes característicos del estrato herbáceo de los bosques xerófitos chaqueños. De acuerdo a nuestras investigaciones en el Gran Chaco, son dos las especies usadas con preferencia como textiles; son ellas *Bromelia hieronymi* y *Deinacanthon urbanianum*. La última es la que da mejores y resistentes fibras. Los clásicos etnógrafos del Chaco, tales como Boggiani (1900: 112), Nordenskiöld (1912: 104) y Métraux (1946: 262, 286), la resaltaron por su pequeño porte y por su excelente calidad. El proceso de obtención de fibras es distinto en cada especie (4).

En cuanto a las especies comestibles, hemos determinado que se trata de *Bromelia serra*, *Bromelia hieronymi* y *Dickia* cf. *ferox*. Además del uso comestible de los frutos y semillas de estas plantas, acá importa el del consumo de la parte basal de ellas, que se denomina roseta. En esta parte del vegetal hay órganos de reserva que almacenan cierta cantidad de sustancias amiláceas que son muy aprovechadas durante los tiempos de carestía del invierno. Estos órganos son: el tallo o eje vertical, las vainas foliares y en ciertos casos los estolones o ejes laterales (Cf. Fig. 2 A).

## La sierra de madera entre los Manjuy

Es una pieza tallada en la que pueden distinguirse tres secciones: a) una porción proximal, que en ciertos ejemplares está marcada por un angostamiento y la aparición de hombros; esta parte actúa de mango o empuñadura, b) una porción media, que es ensanchada, laminar, en forma de hoja y, c) el extremo distal, que es dentado o aserrado (Cf. Fig. 2 B-C).

Se observaron y recolectaron tres ejemplares de los Manjuy de Misión Santa Rosa (Paraguay, Dep. Boquerón); dos de ellos se representan en la Fig. 2. Dos de estos ejemplares reunidos por nosotros son semejantes entre sí y son muy parecidos a los que ilustra Nordenskiöld (Cf. Nordenskiöld 1912: fig. 50, p. 105; 1929: fig. 15 a, p. 71); una forma ligeramente distinta tiene uno de nuestra colección, y es representado en la Fig. 2 C (4). El nombre del útil en la lengua de los Manjuy es *i'nah põ#ohnat*".

El material vegetal con que se confecciona es el leño de árboles de madera dura de los bosques del Gran Chaco. Entre los indígenas Manjuy pudo averiguarse que las materias primas son: "carandá" o "palo mataco" (*Prosopis nuda*), "palo santo" (*Bulnesia sarmientoi*) y "palo amarillo" (*Phyllostylon rhamnoides*). Probablemente las maderas usadas por los Chulupíes sean estas mismas. Cabría agregar otras dos especies, de madera sumamente resistente, que los indígenas de la zona utilizan para la fabricación del instrumental más sólido; son ellas: otro "palo mataco" (*Prosopis kuntzei*) y el "escayante" (*Mimozyganthus carinatus*).

Luego de concluida la guerra paraguayo-boliviana (1932-1935), que se libró tambien en el área habitada por los Manjuy, quedó disperso y abandonado en su hábitat abundante material metálico. A partir de entonces, se prefirió confeccionar este instrumento en metal. Más recientemente, la llegada de pobladores y colonos blancos facilitó el acceso a herramientas, lo que desplazó su uso por machetes y cuchillos. Nos refirieron que algunos ancianos apegados a los hábitos tradicionales aún emplean la sierra de madera.

## Modo de empleo

Las bromeliáceas comestibles del Chaco tienen la apariencia de cardos; las hojas están dispuestas en rosetas, de donde emergen lás láminas erectas, armadas de punzantes aguijones (Fig. 1 B). Estas plantas se asocian en densos matorrales, siendo su recolección bastante ardua. Para cosechar, la recolectora trabaja con un palo-horqueta con el que arranca la planta de raíz, una por una. Al extraerla, la arroja de inmediato sobre leños dispuestos previamente en forma de fogón. Cuando la cantidad de plantas es suficiente, enciende el fuego con el fin de que las láminas se quemen y la parte basal se ase. De esta manera, la planta queda reducida a la roseta quemada por fuera y con los órganos de reserva cocidos. Se las retira de las cenizas o de entre las brasas y luego a cada una se hace un giro de torción a fin de romper la base de la roseta y las hojas basales. Aquí entra en función la sierra, la que es usada para realizar un corte en la base de la roseta o bien en el extremo para separar los restos de la lámina. Para ello, se ubica la sierra en posición perpendicular al pie, sosteniendo el mango sobre el suelo y apretándolo con el arco (Fig. 3 A). Se toma la roseta con ambas manos y se fricciona contra la sierra en la base o entre la vaina y la lámina. De esta manera el tallo y las vainas quedan expuestos y se procede a su consumo valiéndose de una espátula (5) con la que se presionan las vainas foliares y se escarba el tallo, extrayéndose así la masa de almidón. Una detallada descripción etnobotánica sobre las bromeliáceas comestibles del Chaco es dada por Arenas y Arroyo (ms).

## El instrumento en el Gran Chaco

Nordenskiöld (1929: 245-248) señaló que este útil parecía constituir un elemento de la cultura andina; esta aseveración se basó en hallazgos efectuados en sitios arqueológicos de esa región. Más recientemente, pudimos observar sierras de bronce de forma muy semejante a las de madera. Estas fueron halladas en un yacimiento arqueológico situado en las inmediaciones de Tartagal (Argentina, Pcia. de Salta) y eran conservadas en 1974 en la Misión Pentecostal, cerca de la mencionada ciudad. Este material metálico, convalida en cierto modo la idea postulada por Nordenskiöld (l.c.), y parece indicar que fueron las tribus cordilleranas de habla Arawak las que introdujeron este elemento en el área del Gran Chaco. Esto se refuerza más aún porque se trata de elementos de características tipológicas muy similares a las de las piezas que tratamos en esta nota.

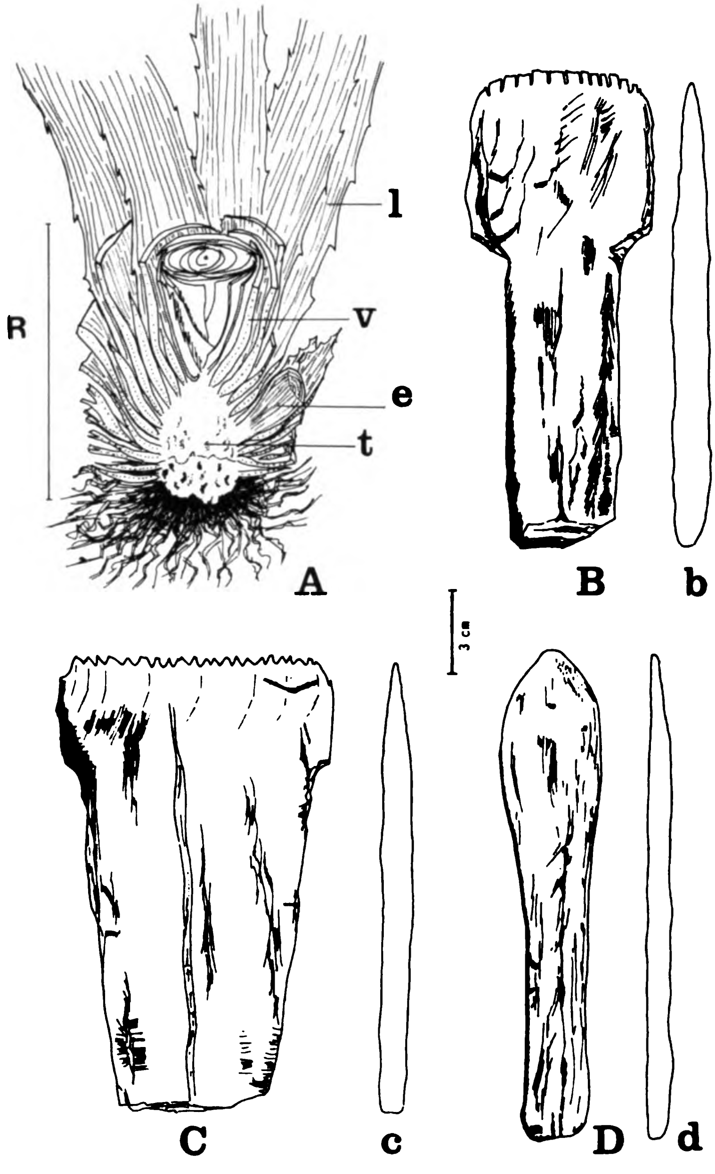

*Figura 2. A)* ***Bromelia*** *sp.; R: roseta; v: vaina; l: lámina; e: estolón o eje lateral; t: tallo o eje vertical. B.b. y C.c.) Formas de sierras de madera con corte longitudinal. D.d.) Espátula de madera con corte longitudinal.*

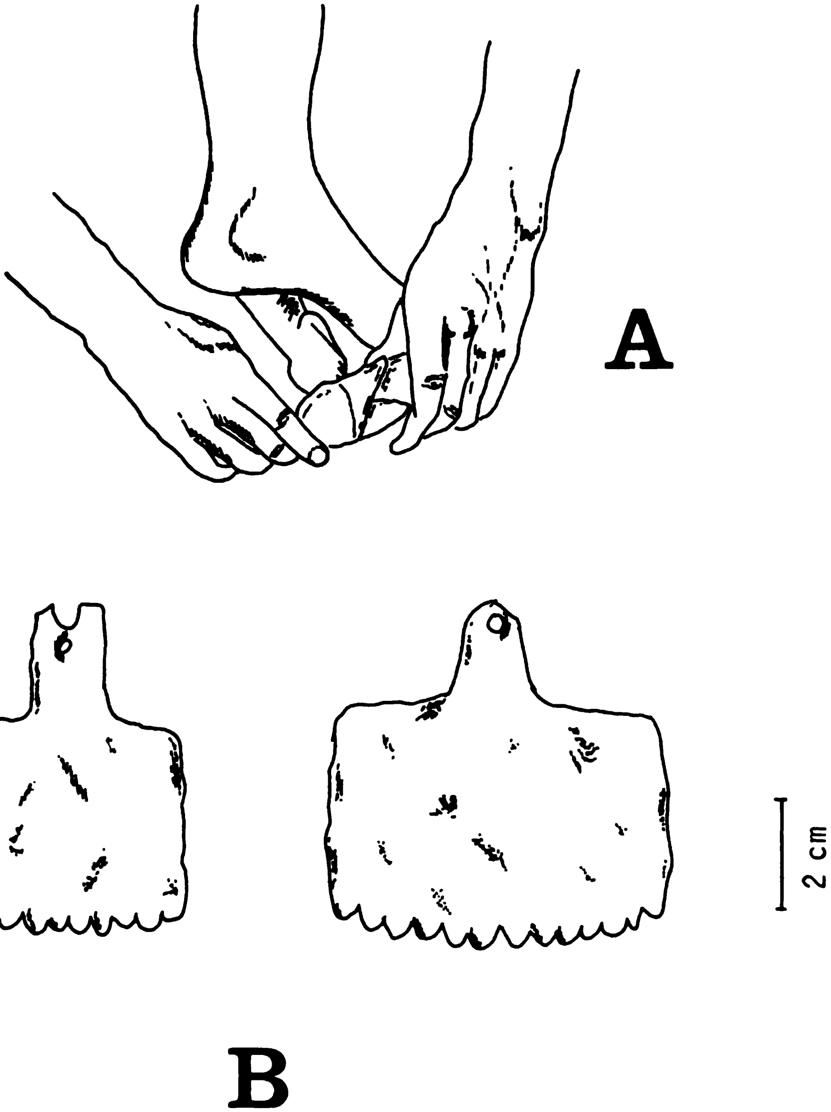

*Figura 3.* *A) Esquema del modo de empleo de la sierra de madera por los Manjuy.*
*B) Sierras de bronce; calco en cámara clara de diapositiva (Foto, Braunstein).*

Desconocemos la difusión de este instrumento en tiempos etnográficos entre los grupos indígenas chaqueños. Por las noticias de Nordenskiöld (1912, 1929) y nuestras observaciones queda establecido su uso entre los Chulupíes y los Manjuy. En primer lugar, resalta que ambos ocupan el occidente Chaqueño y que poseen la misma filiación lingüística (Familia Lingüística Mataco-Mataguayo). Entre los Mataco del curso medio del Bermejo (Las Lomitas y Laguna Yema en la Prov. de Formosa, Argentina), todos los informantes consultados reconocieron el objeto por láminas y le atribuyeron el nombre 'ijeLék'. Actualmente ese nombre identifica a un útil de forma globalmente semejante que se elabora en acero -generalmente con el cabo de una pala de cavar desgastada- que utilizan enmangado las mujeres con las funciones descriptas. El parentesco de ambos elementos parece incontestable, lo que deja el interrogante sobre si la sierra de madera se utilizaba en algún caso enmangada. La persistencia de este instrumento entre los Manjuy se explica dado el aislamiento en que vivió -y que aún vive- este pequeño núcleo, en una de las zonas más apartadas del Chaco Boreal. Hasta ahora no tenemos noticias de que el objeto haya sido colectado, visto o descripto entre otras etnias. Durante nuestros trabajos de campo con indígenas del área pilcomayense (Matacos, Chorotis, Toba-Pilagá), hemos averiguado sobre el uso de este instrumento, para lo cual hemos llevado uno de muestra como apoyo a la encuesta. Nuestros numerosos informantes lo desconocían, de manera que por ahora no podemos arriesgar hipótesis con respecto a la amplitud de su área de dispersión.

## Agradecimientos

Expresamos nuestra gratitud al Prof. Andrés Bestard que nos proporcionó en préstamo algunos de los útiles estudiados.

## Notas

(1) La información que da Nordenskiöld sobre la obtención de estas bromeliáceas es extremadamente somera: "En plus des fruits, on utilise aussi des feuilles, des racines et les jeunes pousses de caraguata. Ces dernières s'obtiennent a l'aide de bâtons spéciaux et de scies en bois".

(2) Simplemente apunta Nordenskiöld que se emplea para raspar la "mandioca del campo". Se trata sin duda de la "mandioca brava" (*Manihot esculenta)*, tóxica, que mediante técnicas en su preparación se vuelve inofensiva. Otra, denominada "mandioca de monte" o "mandioca silvestre" es una liana de grandes raíces comestibles, se trata de *Marsdenia castillonii* Lillo ex Meyer (Asclepiadaceae), que es inofensiva y se consume sin rallar. Más datos sobre esta planta fueron reseñados por Arenas y Gilberti (1987). En el caso de los Manjuy, ellos preparan la "mandioca brava" (*Manihot esculenta)*, rallando las

raíces con un rallador muy difundido entre los indígenas del Chaco, que Nordenskiöld ilustra y describe en ambas obras (Cf. Nordenskiöld 1912:56, fig. 19; 1929:90, fig.19). Se revisó una de las sierras de madera de Nordenskiöld, que se conserva en el University Museum de Oxford, cuya etiqueta expresa: "Wooden sax for cutting off caraguata branchlets. Also used for scrapping manioc. Ashluslay, Río Pilcomayo, Gran Chaco. Nordenskiöld coll. by exchange, 1925".

(3) Se conoce con el nombre de "Manjuy" a un grupo montaraz Choroti, de la familia lingüística Mataco-Mataguayo. Este grupo, habita en territorio paraguayo. Se tiene muy escasa información de ellos, razón por la que los separamos de los Choroti; de hecho, la literatura etnográfica paraguaya acostumbra llamarlos Manjuy (Cf. Censo 1981; Chase Sardi 1971: 25-26; Stahl 1982: 16). Gerzenstein (1978, 1983) realizó estudios lingüísticos con los dialectos Choroti I y II; mediante la confrontación de ambas variedades idiomáticas, la autora demuestra que el dialecto Manjuy es el mismo que el Choroti II.

(4) Para la extracción de las fibras, de acuerdo a Nordenskiöld (1912: 104), Métraux (1946: 286) y Susnik (1982: 186-187), se arranca la planta con un palo horqueta y luego se corta el tallo y la hoja con la sierra de madera. Nordenskiöld aclara, que para realizarlo se ubica la sierra entre el dedo gordo y el vecino y se frota el tallo con el útil. Como se señaló más adelante, las dos especies usadas en cordelería son: *Bromelia hieronymi* y *Deinacanthon urbanianum*. Para la extracción de la primera observamos que se golpea con un palo con punta biselada en el centro de la roseta; de esta manera se cortan las hojas desde la base; la segunda, se extrae una por una estirando las hojas, tomándolas con las manos, de su extremo. Para la separación de las fibras, también los procedimientos son distintos. En el caso de *Bromelia hieronymi*, primero se separa manualmente el envés de la hoja y luego se coloca sobre un palo y se separan las fibras del resto de los tejidos mediante golpes con un palo o por fricción con un objeto que raspa. Por otro lado, las fibras de *Deinacanthon urbanianum* se extraen friccionando las hojas contra un lazo atado en un palo; este procedimiento está bien detallado por Palavecino (1933: 553) y Arenas (1981: 73-74, 141-142; 1983: 143-145).

(5) La espátula es una pieza laminar de 18,5 cm de longitud, de sección plano-convexa. Este instrumento se asemeja al *poo'tade*, espátula de madera de 15-20 cm de longitud, usado hasta el presente entre los Ayoreo del Chaco Boreal. Su uso y morfología han sido descriptos por Bórmida y Califano (1978: 58) y

Fernández Distel (1983: 21); pero es destacable que el ejemplar observado por nosotros -también entre los Ayoreo- es de mucho menor tamaño que el descripto por los autores mencionados, que le asignan 42 y 60 cm de longitud. La espátula reunida entre los Manjuy se ilustra en la Fig. 2 D. Se llama *'howuhnat* en su lengua y se fabrica también de maderas duras tales como los "palo mataco" o "carandá" (*Prosopis nuda* y *Prosopis kuntzei*) y del "escayante" (*Mimozyganthus carinatus*).

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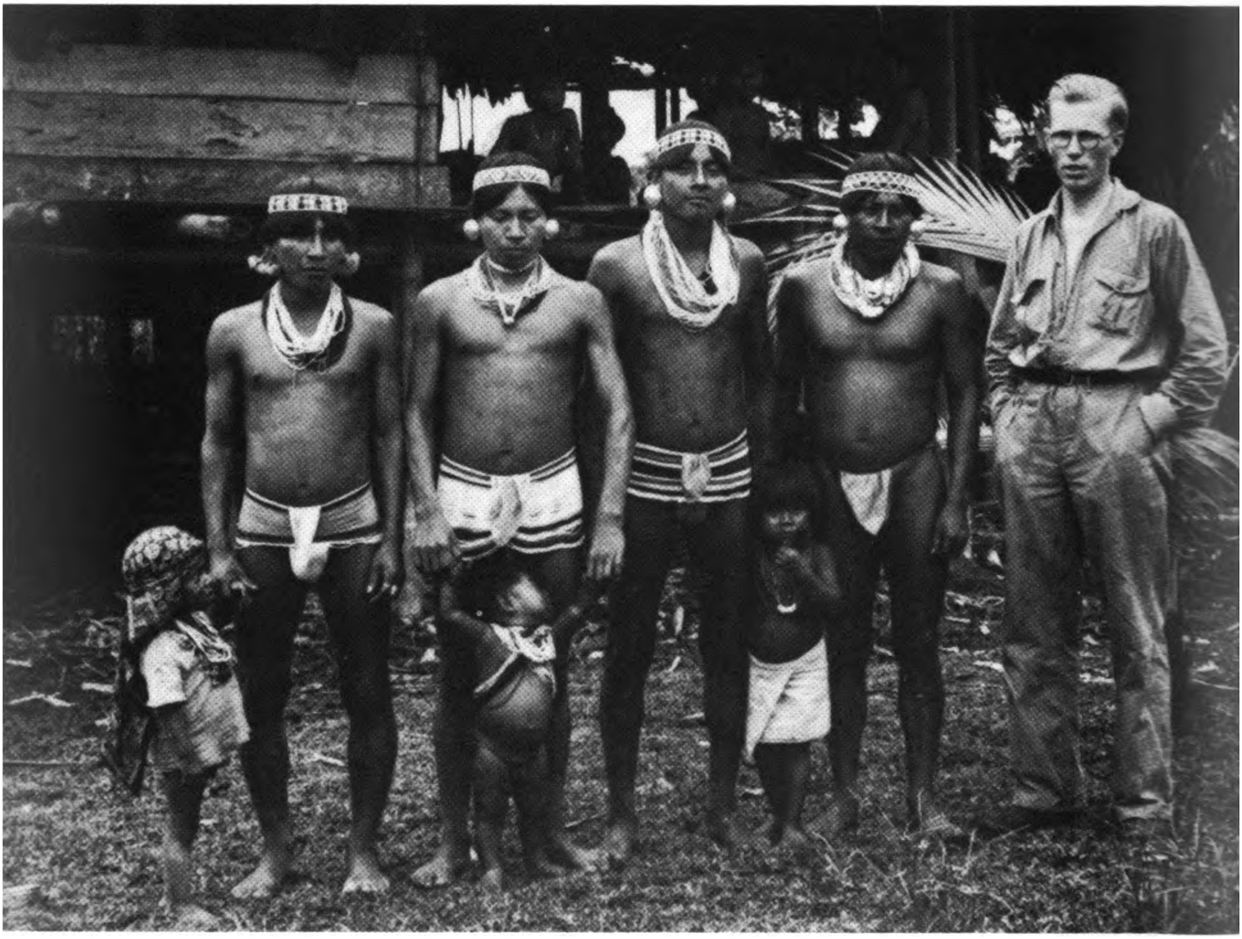
# S. Henry Wassén Eighty Years in 1988

In 1988 a Spanish translation of S. Henry Wassén's now classical monograph on the Waunana Indians in the Chocó was edited in Colombia. "Notes on Southern Groups of Chocó Indians in Colombia" was originally printed in 1935 in the first volume of *Etnologiska Studier*, published by the Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum. The study is based on the fieldwork done by Henry Wassén among the Waunana Indians on the lower San Juan River in southern Chocó the previous year and constitutes a complement to the material obtained by Erland Nordenskiöld during his expedition in 1927 to Emberá-speaking groups of Chocó Indians in Panamá and western Chocó.

The translation into Spanish and the editing of this book was realized on initiative by the Swedish ambassador in Bogotá, Mr Karl Wärnberg and was financed with generous support from, among others, the Swedish company ABV and Dr. Hernando Pryor.

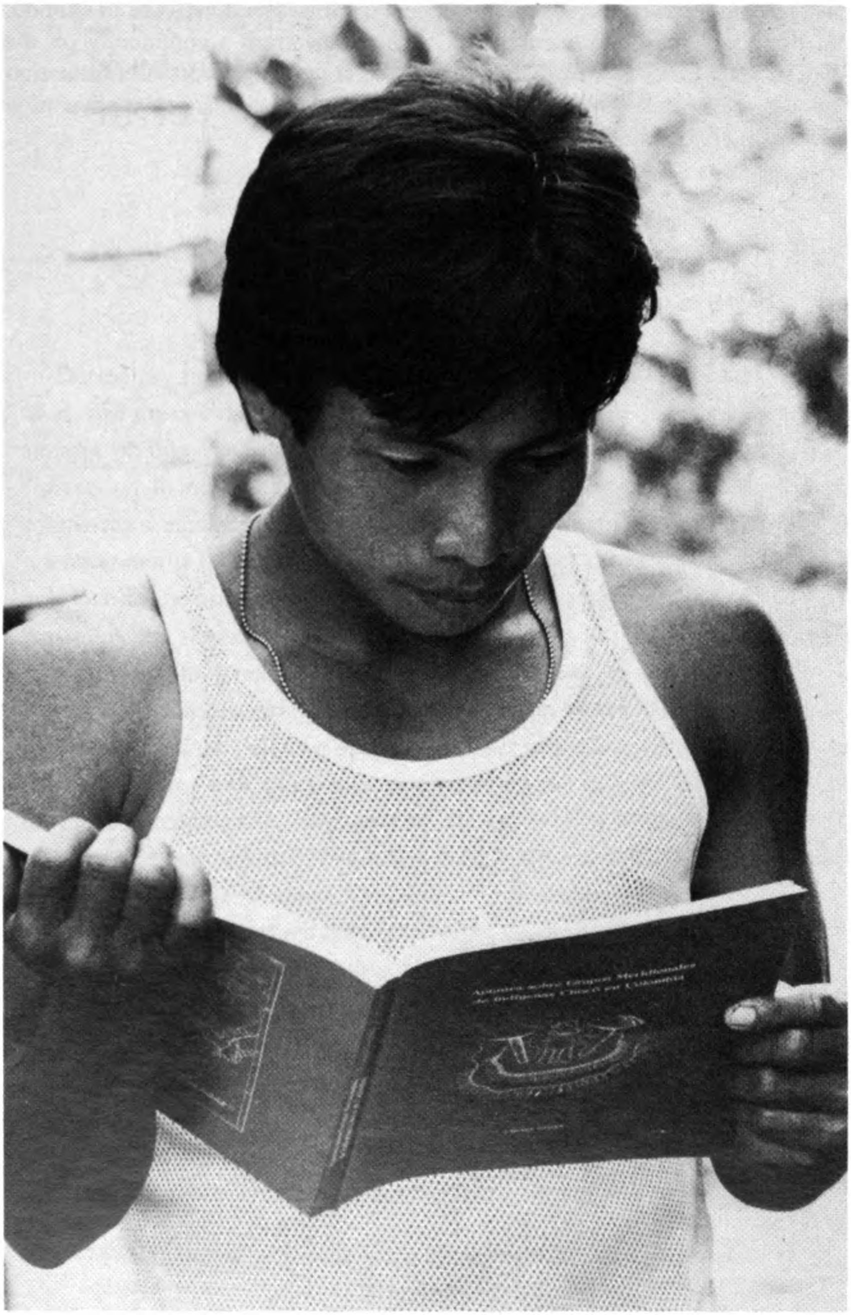
Henry Wassén himself has contributed to the new edition with an introduction in which he gives retrospective comments on his more than 50 years of research in Chocó. The Colombian anthropologist, Dr. Mauricio Pardo, in his



*Henry Wassén among Waunana friends on Isla de Munguido, in Chocó in 1934.*

prologue emphasizes the lasting value of this study in the light of today's research in Chocó.

On April 6th, the Colombian version with the title "Apuntes sobre Grupos Meridionales de Indígenas Chocó en Colombia" was presented during a ceremony at the Gold Museum (Museo del Oro) in Bogotá in the presence of, among others, the Swedish ambassador, mr Karl Wärnberg and the director of the Gold Museum, Dr. Clemencia Plazas. After the ceremony Sven-Erik Isacsson, representative of the Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, lectured on "Tres generaciones de investigacón sueca en el Chocó". Already during the latter's fieldwork in Chocó in February of 1988, copies of the book had, as it



should, been distributed among Waunana communities on the San Juan as well as presented to the joint Emberá/Waunana organisation, OREWA, in Quibdó. In the photo on the previous page, a Waunana from a community on the Docampadó River is seen studying the book, containing pieces of information on his fellow villagers and relatives, recorded from the perspective of a Swedish ethnographer more than 50 years ago.

Sven-Erik Isacsson

# Studies and Museum Work for Erland Nordenskiöld during the Years 1929 to 1932 His last Student looks back over more than half a Century*

by

**S. Henry Wassén****

During my military service in 1928 I contracted a bad attack of typhoid fever, and my convalescence lasted well into 1929. It was therefore only in the autumn of that year that I could register as a student at the Gothenburg University. In my choice of subjects, the most important was general and comparative ethnography under Baron Erland Nordenskiöld. Because of his scientific merits he had been given a personal professorship in the subject, the only one in the country at the time, made possible by a donation from Dan Broström, the ship-owner.

Nordenskiöld's main occupation, however, was to be Director of the Ethnographic Department of Göteborgs Museum, later called the Ethnographic Museum, in the building which holds three museums at Norra Hamngatan 12. The lectures took place in a long room on the second floor in the wing towards Tyggårdsgatan, now part of the museum's library of periodicals, which at that time consisted of a single shelf on the northern short wall, holding the museum's store of about 300 books. On the other short wall there was a door, now closed up, which led to the baron's simple little workroom (now an archive), where he wrote continuously, and where one did not disturb him without good reason.

A long and unusually high table stood along the length of the room, and in the middle of the western wall, there was a glass-fronted cupboard in which Nordenskiöld kept private books, and sometimes part of an edition of some newly-printed work. During the lectures we, the students from different years, sat along this table. The professor, sometimes noticeably stammering, used to sit with his back towards his book cupboard, and now and then he would pull down different chronicles or other works about the South American indians, a subject on which he specially liked to linger. Little did I guess, during these first sessions listening to the famous scientist and stimulating professor, that by the following autumn (1930) I would have the honour of becoming his paid assistant, with a small grant for "extra work", and that the museum would become my working headquarters continuously for 43 years until I retired as Museum Director on September 1, 1973. It happened that Nordenskiöld was to go to the XXIV International Americanist Congress in Hamburg in the autumn of 1930, and he needed someone to "look after" the museum. I was asked, and my answer was an unhesitating yes - for the rest of my working life, so to say. The other assistant, my friend from student days and Americanist colleague Stig Rydén, who was later to become one of the Curators of the Gothenburg Ethnographic Museum (and from New Year 1956 at the State Ethnographic Museum in Stockholm, where he died on 12 April 1965), was to accompany Nordenskiöld to Hamburg.

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* Translation of a speech given at the Nordenskiöld symposium of the Swedish Association of Americanists, Stockholm, May 14, 1988

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All this may seem purely personal, but I mention it because it meant a great deal in years to come. When he came back from Hamburg, Nordenskiöld showed open interest in my Americanistic leanings, which I willingly acknowledge - were wholly stimulated by his teaching. In those days a student would come equipped with school knowledge of German, English and French, and in my case also with Latin and Greek, but for Nordenskiöld that was not enough. One day, when I sat and worked at the high table (where one sat on specially high chairs), the baron came in (he always liked to be addressed as "baron"), looked at me for a while and then drew out books in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian from the book cupboard, with the characteristic comment: "Here, my dear student, we really do speak languages!", something between a request and an order. An evening course at the Commercial High School with a Spanish lecturer gave me the basics of this language.

While speaking of the Spanish language I would like to say that Erland Nordenskiöld played an active part in the interest of this language in Göteborg, by participating in the activities of the "Sociedad Sueco-Hispano-Americana de Gotemburgo", which still exists, from its very start in 1920. He was the President of this society from the end of 1920 right up to his death in 1932, with only short breaks while he was on his travels. For instance it was on his recommendation that the young student Henry Wassén became a member, in 1930 if my memory does not fail me, and he gave many lectures in Spanish at the Society about his researches in Latin America. Later in my life, when my chronicle written for the Society's 25th anniversary (Memoria con motivo del vigésimo quinto aniversario de su fundación) was issued in Göteborg in 1945, I mentioned the important contribution by Nordenskiöld to the cultural life of the city at that time, both in my Introducción and in a special chapter on page 14, where I described him as a friend of the Spanish language and culture. It is with pleasure that I mention this again.

Nordenskiöld always drafted his letters by hand. Soon I was bold enough to correct something he once wrote in a manuscript in Spanish. The author - baron, professor, museum director - noted what had happened, but agreed that there was reason for the change, and was neither offended nor cross. Maybe he thought the young assistant observant. In his correspondence Nordenskiöld was always extremely correct and particular. He reacted against anything he thought inarticulate and careless or impolite in a letter. An American once sent him a type-written letter, which carried the words "dictated but not read" under the sender's name. Nordenskiöld wrote below: "received but not read" and the letter went back to the sender.

An undergraduate of twenty of course felt an enormous respect for the professor, but our work together became increasingly stimulating. Nordenskiöld spoke almost all the time about indians, and was always working on a manuscript, correcting one, or marking maps with what he called cultural elements, and he kept up a wide international correspondence, giving fascinating visions of the whole subject, details of it, and newly-published works by other authors, etc. In 1927 he had become very ill as the result of an infection caught during an expedition in Colombia and Panama. I now understand that during his last years he felt very tired, and he worked intensively to complete the very interesting Volumes 8 and 9 in the series "Comparative Ethnographical Studies" published in 1930 and 1931, as well as the review "L'archéologie du bassin de L'Amazone", so important for its time, published in Paris in 1930 as Vol.I in the series Ars Americana, which was followed by only one other volume by another author. It seemed as if he knew that he could not alone complete Vol. 10 of Comparative Ethnographical Studies, which he was then working on, and made his students Izikowitz, Rydén and Wassén co-authors. I myself was able to publish my first contribution in pure Americanistics, "The Ancient Peruvian Abacus", and I remember that when the essay was discussed at a seminar, he was pleased, if I may say so myself. If he had not been, it would certainly have been refused. Nordenskiöld expressed himself in his graphic fashion by saying that he found the essay of his undergraduate student "made on horse and not on ass".

As Director of the Museum Nordenskiöld had his ups and downs. His wife Olga told us that he smoked strong cigars and read the copious chronicles on South America until far into the night. He was therefore often tired and stressed, and sometimes came into his workroom with shoes of different colours, so that a devoted janitor had to go and fetch the right shoe from his home. He was sometimes irritable, but in the next instant charming, inclined to drastic jokes and sayings, always instructive. I remember how he once kicked a wickerwork wast-paper basket, to let off steam. But that was not the time when someone at the museum had addressed a letter to Germany with the address Museum für Liebesübungen instead of Leibesübungen. Then the baron, looking at the outgoing post, was highly amused. Once, when my colleague, in his archeological enthusiasm, was sorting Curt Nimuendajú's pottery sherds in a rather heavy-handed fashion on the big high table, Nordenskiöld contemplated the scene, then calmed this colleague down with the words: "surely my student is not picking potatoes?" The words were amusing and at the same time instructive, from teacher to pupil.

Early in 1932 Nordenskiöld encouraged me to take my Arts degree, and although I certainly intended this, it was not yet to be. I was busy with my own collection of material for several scientific articles, and as Nordenskiöld's assistant I was even more engaged in writing up his material on the traditions and ideas of the Cuna Indians which had resulted from his work in Panama in 1927. There was also our daily work with Ruben Pérez Kantule, a Cuna Indian who was living with Nordenskiöld in the summer of 1931 at his country house Dalbyö on the east coast of Sweden. I was there all the time as secretary and co-worker, and for a time K.G. Izikowitz was there also, helping with work of a linguistic nature. When I felt myself ready for taking my degree, it was too late for Erland Nordenskiöld, and later it was Dr Sven Lovén, the great authority on the pre-Colombian indian cultures of the West Indies, who had to look after that detail.

Nordenskiöld was admitted to the Sahlgrenska Hospital on March 5, 1932, where he was operated on for gastric disease. Other types of illness became evident, and it was not possible to save his life. On the night of July 5 he died, not even 55 years old, as he was born on July 19, 1877 near the town of Södertälje. I felt the loss of my teacher and chief very deeply indeed. I got some comfort, however, from the memory of the early summer day in 1932 when

*Erland Nordenskiöld in one of the last years of his life. He is wearing a mourning band, because of the death of his son Nils in November 1930.*

Erland, in his bed on the lawn of the hospital park, reached out his thin, pale hand and said that we should call each other by our first names. As his assistant I used to come every day to the hospital to report on the work in the museum. It felt useful, too, to be able to deliver material, especially in the form of bibliographical details, to the many older and more experienced colleagues from different parts of the world, who wrote and asked for help with the obituaries which began to appear hard upon one another. Besides the Swedish ethnographers of the same generation, there was also the Swiss (later American) disciple Alfred Métraux in Tucuman, Argentina, who was to contribute an opening to my article Le Musée Ethnographique de Göteborg et l'oeuvre d'Erland Nordenskiöld (printed in Tucuman in 1932) with an Introduction with his own words of memory. Naturally, among the authors of obituaries was Nordenskiöld's friend of many years and cher maitre Paul Rivet in Paris, to mention just a few.

Nils Erland Herbert Nordenskiöld was the youngest son of Baron Nils Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld, the explorer of the North-East Passage who circumnavigated Europe and Asia with the "Vega" in 1878-79. Nordenskiöld of the "Vega" was born in Helsinki in 1832, but migrated to Sweden for political reasons and came to live in Stockholm in 1858. Erland's mother was Anna Maria Mannerheim, and Finland's great Field Marshall and President Gustaf Mannerheim was a close relative, ten years older. His older brother who died in 1895, Gustaf Nordenskiöld (born 1868), was also an Americanist, and became famous in North America for his researches in 1891 of the cliff dwellings in the Mesa Verde Cañons in the south-western part of Colorado, on which he wrote a much-acclaimed work which is now a classic.

Erland Nordenskiöld had other famous pioneers within his own family. I mention this because he once said, referring to his father, that "it is not always easy to be the son of a great man". In the field of South American research, regarding the indian cultures, however, he broke his own ground, and became the great son of his Polar explorer father.

Even though Erland Nordenskiöld's journeys of discovery to South America have already been mentioned in this symposium, especially by my Americanist friend from Göteborg, Sven-Erik Isacsson, I should like to give a short recapitulation of them here.

Nordenskiöld started as a zoologist and undertook his first expedition to the Ultima Esperanza caves in southern Patagonia. That was at the beginning of 1899, when he was only 22 years old.

The next time Nordenskiöld came to South America was with the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera expedition in 1901-02. This was to a great extent paid for by Count Eric von Rosen. Nordenskiöld was the zoologist, von Rosen the ethnographer, Robert Fries the botanist and Gustaf von Hofsten the ornithologist. It was a great enterprise, and their journey took them through Chaco Argentino to Salta and Puna de Jujuy, Chaco Boliviano and along part of the River Pilcomayo. Following the Cordillera they came back to Salta, and returned to Stockholm in June 1902. Eric von Rosen has described the expedition objectively and correctly in five volumes published for the Americanist Congress in Göteborg in 1924, among others. He must, however, have felt a certain amount of bitterness. The zoologist in Nordenskiöld disappeared during that expedition, and in his place the researcher into indian cultures made his appearance, and during the decades to come his was to be the dominating name internationally, not least because of the series of articles he began to write. His enormous productivity as an ethnographic author, in both pure and popular science, was already clearly in evidence.

During his third period in South America, in 1904-05, Nordenskiöld was the ethnographer pure and simple, and as if to make this point, he took a professional zoologist with him, Nils Holmgren, later to become professor. The expedition was to the region round Titicaca, and eastwards through Rio Madre de Dios and Rio Beni in the frontier lands of Peru and Bolivia. The collections went to the State Museum in Stockholm, and as usual there followed a series of publications dealing with them, and Nordenskiöld was appointed as extra assistant in the ethnographic department of the State Museum. This position was later to be filled by a permanent holder, and Nordenskiöld was passed over. It has been said that this was the reason that he very soon set off again on his fourth expedition. This was in 1908-09 and was to Argentina, Bolivia and Peru. The collections of that expedition were acquired by the State Museum thanks to private support. They were followed by scientific articles and, which was particularly important, they gave Nordenskiöld the inspiration to write his description of the journey, "Indianlif i El Chaco"(Indian Life in El Chaco) (1910) and "Indianer och Hvita i nordöstra Bolivia" (Indians and White Men in North East Bolivia) (1911), which were both factually very interesting and charming in their style. Several editions of these followed each other, translations made them known over the whole continent, and even today they are much appreciated literature. It was the friend of the indians in Erland Nordenskiöld who spoke in these books.

Up to this time Göteborg had not come into the picture. The little Ethnographic Department in the museum building on Norra Hamngatan slept its "Sleeping Beauty" sleep under the supervision of the poet from Skåne, A.U. Bååth, who had become head curator in 1891. When Bååth died in 1912, however, something lucky happened. Nordenskiöld was appointed head curator in 1913. He thus became the second chief of the Ethnographic Museum, and started his duties by undertaking his fifth journey to South America, which had already been planned. He was now accompanied by his wife Olga, born Adelöw, and the intention of the journey was to visit the indian tribes in Bolivia and nearby parts of Brazil. The great book on his travels, "Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika 1913-14 (Researches and Adventures in South America 1913-14) appeared in 1915 and reported on the expedition's course for the general public. The expedition had many troubles. The statement was circulated, especially in the German press, that Nordenskiöld and his Olga had been murdered. A murder had in fact taken place, but it was their companion Constable Johan Berg who had been found murdered near S:a Ana in Bolivia. The episode is referred to shortly in the 20th chapter of the travel book, under the chapter heading "Over flooded pampas. The murder of Berg". Then the First World War broke out, and the expedition had to be terminated and the journey home begun. In the travel book Nordenskiöld writes: "As from Cochabamba we two became ordinary tourists, making a pleasant journey of recreation, and we admired picturesque Bolivia, aristocratic Santiago, gigantic Buenos Aires, and wonderfully beautiful Rio de Janeiro." They arrived home in January 1915, and on February 1 the new museum chief took up his duties. He himself wrote in the Year Book for 1915 (Annals 1916, page 83): "Through my journey the museum has acquired fairly comprehensive and unique collections. These are partly ethnographical, partly archeological." It was the beginning of the great growth of collections which started with Nordenskiöld and lasted till his death and continued long afterwards. A large amount of scientific work was produced which continued to increase, and Nordenskiöld's series Comparative Ethnographical Studies, for instance, whose first part came out in German in 1918, was published with nine volumes in English between 1919 and 1931. The last and tenth was compiled and completed posthumously by me, and it was published in 1938. The contents concerned Cuna Indian material, partly from the expedition in 1927 and partly from work with the Cuna representative Rubén Pérez Kantule in Göteborg and at Dalbyö in 1931.

One might wonder what the modern young ethnographers and anthropologists in Sweden know about Erland Nordenskiöld and his scientific works. I know of examples in Göteborg only a few years ago, which give the impression that this knowledge is small, even non-existent. The subject is not now pursued as it was in his time, and the all too small editions of his books have been out of print for decades and are now rare. In many of his works Erland Nordenskiöld and others among us supported a hypothesis about the great importance of the Amazon region for the spread of indian culture towards the south, both along and to the east of the Andes and across them. The American archeologists especially were inclined to mistrust these ideas, and they emphasised the dominating role of the highlands in this respect. A form of "rehabilitation" was awarded to Nordenskiöld and "his school" in 1970, when Professor Donald W. Lathrap of the University of Illinois in Urbana published a very important work called "The Upper Amazon". I quote a text from the second cover page:

"Recent detailed botanical studies indicate that many, possibly all, of the earliest cultivated plants to appear on the Coast of Peru were domisticated first on the eastern side of the Andes within the Amazon Basin. On the evidence of the most recent findings, the author has arrived at a model of population expansion and a picture of population evolution broadly similar to that presented by the great Swedish anthropologist and geographer Erland Nordenskiöld, who studied the cultural history of the tropical lowlands of South America during the second and third decades of this century. Since 1930 there has been a tendency to critize or ignore Nordenskiöld's point of view and treat the Amazon Basin as if the Tropical Forest culture had little time-depth relative to the sedentary, agricultural civilizations of the Central and Nothern Andes. The author, however, maintains that the recent archeological record largely bears out the Swede's conclusions, and in summarizing all the available data and relating them to the ecological characteristics of the Amazon Basin, Professor Lathrap propounds a convincing argument that runs contrary to accepted archeological opinion of the past four decades."

To this could be added that we now, thanks to Dr. Anna C. Roosevelt's recent archeological work and findings from different parts of Amazonia, have got a new picture of cultural development in South America. I was listening to her lecture about these new facts in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, on November 21, 1989, and I permit myself to quote a few important lines from my friend's article "Lost Civilizations of the Lower Amazon" (Natural History 2/89, pp.74-82, New York, 1989), e.g. from page 82: "As José Brochado pointed out in 1980, the radiocarbon dates show that the earliest multicolored pottery were on Marajó in the lower Amazon, not in the area near the Andes." Also, and from the same paper and page: "We now perceive a long sequence, beginning with nomadic hunters and gatherers at least 10.000 years ago. People settled down at rivers and estuaries to exploit fish and shellfish and, according to our recent excavations, began to make pottery by about 7.600 years ago. This was the earliest pottery in the New World by 1.400 years and 3.000 years before the first pottery in Andean or coastal areas of Peru."

Another important expression of support for Nordenskiöld's opinions about culture stratification in America, which were criticised in certain specialist quarters in America, came from the lecture at this symposium by Professor Åke Hultkrantz. This lecture, like all the others during the symposium in Stockholm, was held in Swedish, but the English title would be: "Some points about Nordenskiöld's idea of culture stratification in America". It gave great pleasure to this last pupil of the Americanist and friend who died in 1932, to be present and hear that analysis, on the 14th of May in the year 1988.

# Notes on a Book Concerning Dr Chanca, Ship's Doctor during Columbus's Second Voyage to the West Indies in 1493

by

S. Henry Wassén

The Medical Association of Puerto Rico (Asociación Médica de Puerto Rico), supported by the Puerto Rican Academy of History (Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia), initiated a most praiseworthy undertaking when they entrusted their Academician, Dr Aurelio Tió, with the task of writing a biographic study in honor of Dr Diego Alvárez Chanca, ship's doctor and notary public during the second voyage of Christopher Columbus to the West Indies in 1493.

The initiative resulted in a volume of no less than XVI + 450 pages filled with detailed information of ethnographical, historical and, not least, geographical value, by an author who evidently knew every corner of his West Indian island world. The title of Tió's work is Dr Diego Alvárez Chanca (Estudio Biográfico), and it was printed in Barcelona, Spain, in 1966.

At the beginning of 1987 my friend in Stockholm, Professor Bo Holmstedt, M.D., well-known toxicologist who also has a wide interest in my Americanistic field, had the kindness to lend me his copy of the book, which he had received from a mutual friend at the University of California. The book had particularly aroused Professor Holmsted's interest because of a statement by Samuel Eliot Morison (1956, p.128) about the unfortunate trading post of Isabela, which was founded during Columbus's second voyage in the northern part of what later became the Dominican Republic. Isabela was the first permanent Spanish settlement (cf. Rouse, 1948a, p.517), and all the colonists and some of the seamen were landed there. Morison writes (p.128) that "workers fell ill of malaria or from drinking well-water and eating strange fish, although Dr Chanca tried every new species on a dog before he would let any Christian touch it". This statement, however, has not been found in Dr Chanca's famous letter to the Municipal Council (Cabildo) in Seville, which was evidently written, according to Tió, at the end of 1493, soon after the Admiral's fleet had arrived safely at the Island of Española (Haiti, or now Hispaniola) on Dominican territory. As the original statement concerning

Chanca's physiological experiment, referred to by Morison (who evidently never quoted his sources), has not been located (in spite of a serious search), my friend in Stockholm lost his interest in a paper to be written by both of us. However, as I became interested, for special reasons, in Dr Tió's work, I have in the present paper fulfilled my plans to write a few comments.

The letter which was sent to the Cabildo de Sevilla in the beginning of 1494 is found on pages 47-66 in the book by Tió. The corresponding 100 notes, of which some cover several pages, and their detailed information, are printed on pages 69-207 of the volume. The letter has been published at other times, e.g. by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in Madrid in 1825, and in the edition by Navarrete published in Buenos Aires in 1945. Dr Chanca ends his famous undated letter with the solemn words that he takes God as his witness that he has not by an iota gone beyond the truth, or, in the original: "Pero Dios es testigo que yo no he traspasado una jota los terminos de la verdad".

Diego Alvárez Chanca was the first physician to arrive in America, in 1493, when his age was probably about 30 years. We only know that he was born in Seville, but not the date of his birth. So-called cirujanos-barberos with a limited knowledge in medicine are, however, mentioned already from Columbus's first voyage (see Tió, note 65, p.183). One "surgeon" by name Melchor Maldonado followed Dr Chanca, and this man (whom Chanca calls "zurugiano de armada") took part in examining Chief Guacanagari (Tió note 65, p.183) who was trying to cheat Columbus by pretending that he was suffering an injury to the leg. Navarrete (1825, p.213) calls the Indian chief Guacamari, "ferido en una pierna". The chief was forced to untie his injury, and the "surgeon" explained to Columbus that it was only something caused by a ciba, that is, a stone (Navarrete, 1825, p.217). One Master Bernard has been mentioned as a chemist in the colony La Isabela in 1494, but Chanca was the first real doctor to enter the New World.

According to a quotation from Pedro Mártir (Década III, Libro VI, Cap.IV), Chanca probably returned to America a second time, then in his 50's, when he is said to have taken part in the expedition of Pedro Arias Dávila, and also brought his wife with him (Tió, p.21). The same Tió, however, writes (p.30) that there is no documental evidence yet found for a second journey by the famous doctor to American soil. Nor does a date or place for Chanca's death appear in the biography. The biographer states on p.5 that the life of Dr Diego Alvárez Chanca "está sumida en el mayor desconocimiento y son pocos los datos que hemos podido encontrar dispersos por los archivos y bibliotecas" ("

- sunk in the greatest ignorance and the dates are few that we have found dispersed in archives and libraries").

The various interesting statements in Dr Chanca's letter have now and then been referred to by illustrious Americanists. When reading Tió's book, I was curious to know if Dr Sven Lovén's classic work "Origins of the Tainan Culture, West Indies", published in Göteborg, Sweden, in 1935, was known to the biographer of Chanca. This book is not mentioned, however, in Tió's bibliography. As far as I can see, Lovén's name is only mentioned once, on page 265. This is in Appendix I, about the ethnology of the Taino on Boriquén (the Indian name for Puerto Rico), where it is said that Lovén modified the theory about the South American origin of the main linguistic and cultural groups of population in the West Indies after having observed certain cultural influences from Yucatán which had passed to West Indian soil. As a pupil of Sven Lovén (after the death of my first teacher, Professor Erland Nordenskiöld, in 1932), and as the man who typed Lovén's handwritten manuscript in 1935, in the Gothenburg Ethnographical Museum, I know that Lovén made a distinction between the geographical origin of the West Indian peoples and of the cultural influences passing to them. Already on page 2 in his work of nearly 700 pages, Lovén stated that "leaving Trinidad aside, we know four distinct races in the West Indies properly speaking, from historical sources." The names are given in the order in which they immigrated: "1. Guanahatabeyes (Siboneyes), 2. Island-Arawaks, 3. Maçoriges (Ciguayos) and 4. Island-Caribs". About the Guanahatabeyes he says (p.3) that "only in the extreme western part of Cuba can we establish a pre-Arawak race at the time of the Conquest with any degree of probability." Lovén also used the term Ciboney for this population. Lovén and other experts have generally assumed "that the Ciboney came into the West Indies from Florida" (see Rouse, 1948a:497). Rouse begins his article about the Ciboney in the following way: "The three linguistic-cultural groups in the West Indies - Ciboney, Arawak and Carib - may be conveniently discussed in that order, since that is roughly their distribution at the time of historic contact, going through the islands from North to South America. Moreover, it seems to be the order in which the three groups arrived in the Antilles."

"Time of historic contact" - well, it was during this fascinating and epoch-making time for the whole world that Chanca came to the West Indies during the Admiral's second voyage, and there he proved to be a cautious observer, with his professional scientific interest. His biographer Tió points out that in

Chanca's letter to Seville we have the first document about the geography, flora, fauna, theogony and ethnology of the New World (see Tió, p.5). The Americanists also readily support the biographer's words, on page 11, that the second voyage and the writings of the Discoverer, his doctor Diego Alvárez Chanca and his friar Ramón Pane (see Bourne's edition, 1906) provided a platform for American anthropology during the centuries to follow after the Conquest.

It is quite understandable, for example, that Lovén repeatedly quoted Chanca from the edition by Navarrete, and so did Madariaga in his revealing work "Christopher Columbus" (1967). For instance, Madariaga quoted Chanca's admiration for the elegant hairdressing of the natives (p.224), just as Lovén in his work (1935: 485, cont. of note 5 from p.484) quoted Chanca when stating "that the women of Española had a thigh-covering of cotton cloth or of foliage and tree leaves, but that the entire population of Island-Caribs "andan como nacieron".

As indicated above, it is evident that Tió did not study Lovén's work in all 'its details. Chanca (p.52) describes how Indians on a beach greeted some Spaniards coming ashore in a boat from the ships, which the Indians saw and experienced as marvels, with the the word *tayno tayno*, "que quiere decir bueno." Aurelio Tió only comments in note 19 (p.97): "La primera palabra que oyeron los españoles fue 'taino' que quiere decir paz, hombre de paz o bueno, según el Dr Chanca". Lovén has a more complete explanation in his work of 1935 (p.70): "Tainos, the naturalized name for the Arawak race of the Greater Antilles and the Bahama Islands, was the name of the ruling nobility of Española and Cuba, as is well known. We can draw the conclusion that the name was also used on Puerto Rico, for the Borinquen women, who were the prisoners of the Caribs on Guadeloupe, called out to the Spanish: '*Tayno, tayno*', que quiere decir bueno". A footnote refers to Chanca in Navarrete, p.352.

Dr Chanca's letter has naturally also been mentioned by Ballesteros y Beretta (1945, p.185, in the chapter "el problema de las fuentes del segundo viaje"). Like Navarrete, he points out that the manuscript originally belonged to "fraile jerónimo Antonio de Aspa". Navarrete locates him to a monastery called Mejorada, close to Olmedo. Ballesteros y Beretta calls the Indian chief who pretended he had an injury to his leg, "Guacanagarí" (p.203).

It is known that Columbus, because of Chanca's valuable work, sought an increase in remuneration for him from their Catholic Sovereigns at home in

Spain. When, Antonio de Torres was about to return to Spain in 1494, Columbus entrusted him with a memorandum on January 30 of that year, in the city of Isabela. The memorandum is given clearly in the English translation by Thacher (1903, p.304): "You will entreat their Highnesses to order provision made as well in the matter of the salary as of this custom, in such manner that the said Dr Chanca may have reason to be satisfied".

**If** - to return to the start of this paper - there actually exists information from Dr Chanca himself (from a source not noted by Morison) that he had, for example, tried out "strange fish" on a dog, before the Spaniards were allowed to taste it, this could point to his having knowledge of the poison in "one or more species of puffer fish found in Haitian waters" which are now known to sometimes contain the potent tetrodotoxin (see p.275, Science, Vol.240, 15 April 1988). What Chanca does say (Navarrete, p.201) is that there were new fruits, which the unwise ones tasted, and if they so much as touched the fruit with their tongues, their faces swelled up and they felt such burning pain that it seemed as if they were suffering from hydrophobia (Chanca says "rabiaban"). In a note to his text, Navarrete says that Chanca's information could mean that it was a question of manzanillo, that is, *Hippomane Mancinella L.*, manchineel-apple. As we know, there are fanciful descriptions of this euphorbiaceous tree in writings from the colonial period. Even the shade of the tree was said to be poisonous, if one sat or lay down under it, and fish which ate of its fruit were said to get black teeth.

Göteborg, Sweden, in May 1988.

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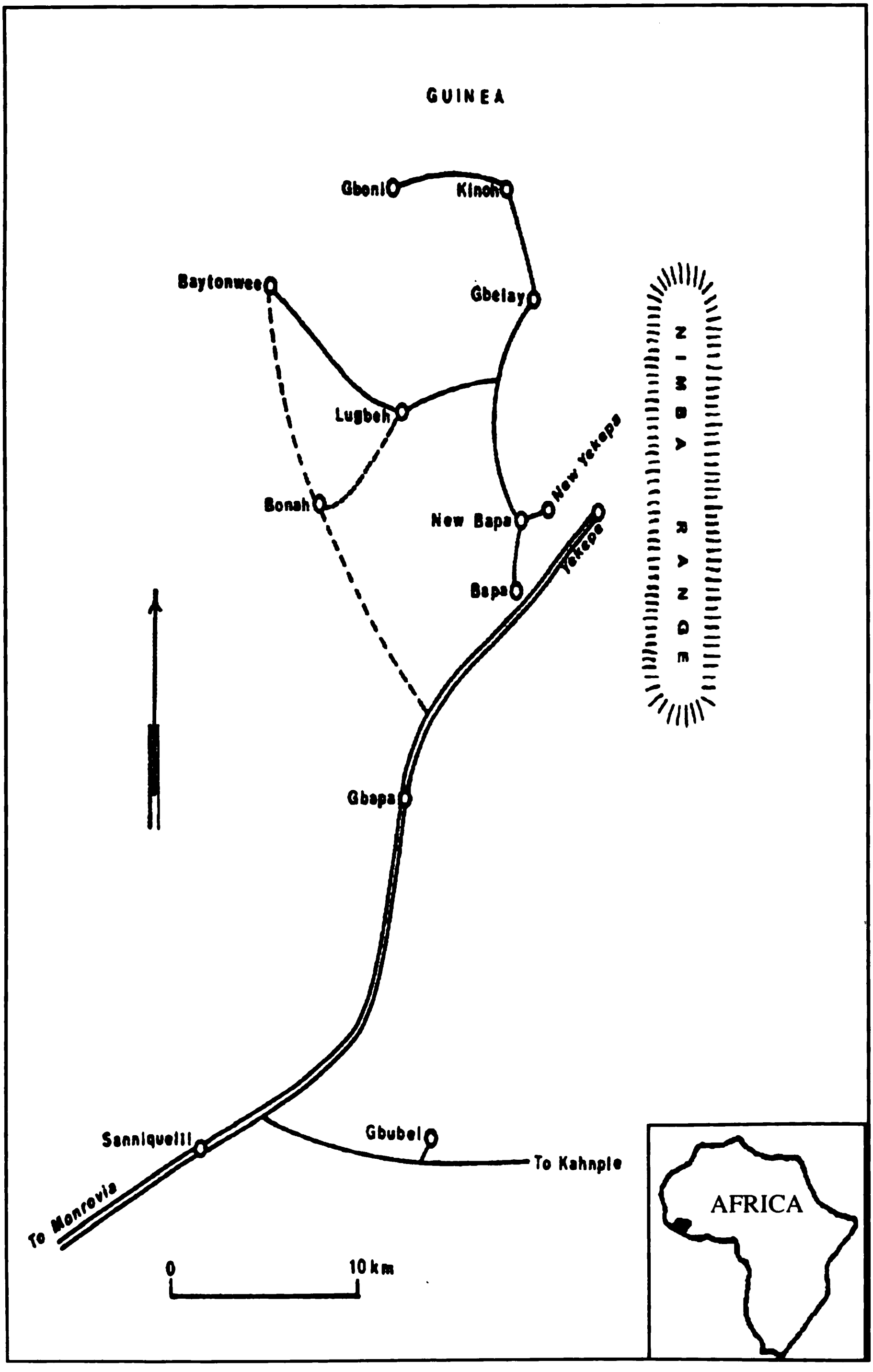

*The Towns of the Yamein Mano*

# Traditional Law of the Yamein Mano

by

## Kjell Zetterström

The Yamein Mano (I) live in the northern part of Nimba County close to the boundary between Guinea and Liberia. According to their own traditions, they have migrated from the north, the first settlers probably entering the forest zone during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The oldest Yamein town is Baytonwee and the most important is Gbelay where the present clan chief resides. In the traditional Mano society there lived an important chief in Gbelay whose title was sele dami (*sele* = earth, *da* = father, owner, *mi*, pl. *mia* =man, person). He was regarded as the owner of all the land belonging to *Gbelay sele* which is the Mano name for this area. The name of Yamein is a fairly recent introduction (2). In each of the other towns there is a *sele domi (do* = to build) who is a descendant of the founder of that particular town. *Domi* is used as a term of address for the *sele dami* as well as for the *sele domia. The sele domi* must not be confused with the town chief whose title is *plei domi*, sometimes also called *piika* which is a corruption of the English word "speaker". In the past, the *sele domi* was often the town chief but, especially when he grew older and weaker, he could appoint a *plei domi* to handle the routine matters. When the *sele domi* is too old to settle matters or has died, his oldest son was taken to the sacred bush, *gbea ii*, where all the secrets were explained to him. After that it was the son who took care of all the matters. If he spoke his opinion, nobody opposed him. The Mano still use the title of *plei domi* for the modern, elected town chief.

The towns are divided into sections which are referred to as "quarters", in *Mano gbing*. These quarters are patrilineal, minimal sibs (3) headed by a quarter chief", *gbing dami.*

The *sele domi* comes from the quarter inhabited by the descendants of the first settlers of the whole community in which this quarter has a special status. There are strong ties between the members of a quarter who are obliged to assist each other when in trouble for some reason or other.

This material relates mainly to the past, i.e. before domination by the Central Government. New legal procedures and laws have been introduced by this government but will not be treated in this paper, see e.g. Interior Regulations.

Apart from what is going on within the secret societies, there is not much left of traditional Mano legal procedures. Many elders complain about the present situation and remember the olden times with nostalgia. In those days, elders were looked upon and treated with respect and the "sueing business" was not so bad. Today, sueing in Liberia is like a national sport. A debt of 50 cents, not being honoured in time, may increase to $ 6-7 (in 1975) if the matter is brought before the court.

There are, of course, a great many traditional rules which have to be observed even today. A family head is responsible for any damages caused by members of his family or household. This also goes for his animals if, for instance,they have grazed on somebody else's rice farm.

A person who has lost something must report his loss to the chief and the person who finds the lost object must also report this to the chief. If the finder does not do this and is later discovered with the lost object, he will be regarded as a thief and dealt with accordingly (cf. Schwab p. 419). Laws were often initiated by the secret society. "New laws were recited by the town criers." (Harley, 1950, p.14). On this occasion, the town crier had a staff covered with the skin from a cow's tail (Zetterström, 1976, p.103).

Small troubles arising within the family are most often settled within that group. This is done in much the same way as that described by Gibbs for the Kpele moot (cf. Gibbs,1962, pp. 342 f, 1963, pp. 2 f, 1965, pp. 225 f, Schwab pp. 422 f). If more than one family is involved, the family heads try to settle the problem. If they cannot come to an agreement, the case is referred to the *gbing dami*, who, together with the elders of the quarter, listens to the litigants and decides the case. This usually ended the palaver. If the *gbing dami* could not settle the case, he could ask the *plei domi* to intervene. The latter was authorized by the *sele domi* to settle certain matters on his own. He, however, later had to report to the *sele domi* who by then very often had some knowledge of the case (cf. Westermann pp. 100 f). He could instruct his *plei domi* to gather more information about the case before the hearing started. As there are very few secrets concerning every day life in an African community, this seldom met with difficulties. A case decided by the *sele domi* was without appeal, cases decided by the *plei domi* or *gbing damia* could be appealed to the *sele domi* (cf. Schwab p. 426).

Those who laid down the rules for a community were the *ki gbuo la mia* (*ki* = skin, fur, *gbuo* = great, big). They were the oldest and most important members of the *ge gbôô*, the Poro society. Their meetings were held in a secret and sacred place called *gbea ii* which was located deep in the forest. When in those sessions they were sitting on cow skins. They were known as the "*ki la*", but it was forbidden to use that name. Instead they were referred to as *yoane wo* or *gwei kulu* which signifies important persons, those who were next to the *sele domi*. When a man "has grey hair and beard and cannot move about so easily, he belongs to the *yoane wo* or *gwei kulu*".

When the trial started, the *sele domi* was resting on a sheep skin, his elbow supported by a stool (*tangla*) which in the past it was his exclusive privilege to possess (4). He also had his cow tail and around his neck there was a string with attached leopard teeth, both insignia of dignity. Beside him were the *gbun da mia* (*gbun* = the matter to be discussed, *da mia* = the group of people to discuss the problem). Standing beside him was the *plei domi* who acted as an "interpreter". Everybody addressed himself to the *plei domi* when talking and the latter repeated the same words to the *sele domi* or the litigants and the audience. Nobody talked directly to another person during the trial. Only one person was allowed to sit behind the *sele domi* and that was the *tangla se mi* (*tangla* = stool, *se* = to take, carry). He was the person who carried the stool of the *sele domi*.

Plaintiff is called *yo ya mi* (= to sue, report; *yo* = something bad, *ya* = to set, place). It means that the plaintiff, by sueing, had placed something bad on another person. To sue somebody was regarded as something bad. There is no special term for defendant.

The plaintiff and defendant were sitting facing the *gbun da mia* and behind them were their supporters, i.e. their quarter people. Women, but not children, were allowed to be present but were not permitted to participate in the deliberations. If they had to leave while the court was in session, they had to do it in a crouching position.

Among the *gbun da mia* were also the *mi gbuo* i.e. the oldest man and woman in town who were listened to with attention and great respect.

Nobody was allowed to stand or walk between the *plei domi* and the *sele domi*. Before the actual proceedings began, the *plei domi* delivered an "opening address" telling them that their father (= *sele domi)* had not called them together for "nothing" and stated why they had been called to this particular meeting. Both plaintiff and defendant had to deposit a hearing fee, usually pieces of cloth, before the trial could begin (cf. Holleman p. 10, pp 18 f, Schwab p. 424). The one who won the case got his cloth back. This being done, the plaintiff was asked to state his case. When he or she was through, it was time for the defendant. Both plaintiff and defendant were being asked questions both by the *gbun da mia* and by the audience. Especially the former took an active part in the proceedings. Old men in the audience, who were known for their good sense, were allowed to ask questions even if they did not have any connection with the case. Witnesses were being called and interrogated. When a witness had been examined, he was allowed to sit down in the audience but was not permitted to communicate with witnesses not yet examined.

When the hearings were over it was time for the *gbun da mia* to retire to consider the case, to "hang heads" (*klü*). If the case is a serious one, involving society matters, the *gbun da mia* retired to the *gbea ii*. If not, they gathered in a clearing not too far from town.

It was the *sele domi* who decided the case but never without having first listened to the *gwei kulu*. When he had decided who was guilty, the fine was decided upon by the group. When deciding the fine, consideration was taken into whether the guilty person was rich or poor.

Then the *gbun da mia* returned to the court where the *plei domi* called for order. The *sele domi* then declared who was guilty and pronounced the sentence which was immediately repeated by the *plei domi*.

The fines usually consisted of something edible and had to be paid on the spot. The food was then prepared and shared by those present.

Most informants maintain that the only crime which brought capital punishment was the disclosing of society matters. A person who had committed such a crime could be disposed of by a *zo* well versed in the use of poisons (Harley, 1950, p.IX, pp. 30f, Zetterström, 1980, p. 49).

## Murder and manslaughter

Murder and manslaughter were regarded as very serious crimes which, however, seldom occurred.

If a murder (*mi ze*) was committed in town, the result was often very serious fighting. If the murderer (*mi ze mi* = person kill person) was from another quarter, the victim's quarter people rushed into that quarter, trying to grab and kill the murderer. So great could be their rage that if they were unable to grab the murderer, they could seize and kill any person from that quarter. The only one who could stop this fighting was the *ge gôô*, the "big devil" of the Poro (5). When the men saw that serious trouble was at hand they approached the *ge gôô*. They told the women and children to go into their houses. Then the *ge gôô* started talking in his strange, gargling voice telling them to stop the fighting at once. He did not appear in public, he was talking from a house or a place in the bush, just outside the town. His orders were obeyed immediately, the fighting stopped as if someone had pressed a button (cf. Harley, 1941, p. 191). The murderer now was apprehended and brought to the stockade *(kwing)* of the *sele domi*. The latter immediately sent for the *sele dami* and all the other *sele domia* of the *Gbelay sele*. There is a saying in Mano: "If a tree has fallen on you, you cannot lift it up alone". The tree (the murder) had fallen on the town of the sele domi and he was not able to lift it up (solve the problem) alone. It also meant that murder was such a serious crime that it concerned everybody. After two or three days all the chiefs had arrived and the trial could begin.

When judging this type of case the *gbun da mia* was made up by the *sele dami* and the *sele domia*. A place had been cleared in the bush just outside the town and here the case was heard. Before the trial could begin, each party had to deliver two human beings unless they were in the lucky possession of cows. Those two human beings were left as pawns for the cows until these had been paid. They usually were the children of the leaders of the two parties involved. The children used as pawns should be at least 15 years of age, if a girl, she "must have breasts". When the pawns were redeemed, which sometimes could take 1-2 years, they only paid back the cows. The interest was the work done by the pawns during the meantime.

When the trial had begun, the people of the murderer's quarter, knowing that he was guilty, did not support him vigorously. They talked for him in front of the *gbun da mia* but only his family (father, brothers and his own sons) gave him but a perfunctory support. If, on the other hand, a person from the victim's quarter, in rage, had killed someone from the murderer's quarter, the manslayer received a strong backing from his quarter people.

When the proceedings were over, the *gbun da mia* retired to "hang heads". In a serious case like this it was a rather small group because they did not want to have too many involved who could inform the others of how the discussions went and what decisions were taken. Matters judged by this group usually involved the paying of a fine of one or two cows, two cows being the maximum penalty. While the *gbun da mia* were "hanging heads", the people from the quarters involved exchanged white chickens. This meant that they called for peace between the parties.

When the *gbun da mia* returned, the verdict was given by the *sele dami*. The fine was two cows which the murderer had to pay at once. If there had also been a killing as a revenge for the murder, the manslayer also had to pay two cows.

One cow was given to the families of each victim as compensation for their losses (cf. Bohannan pp. 66 f, Schwab p. 433). The murderer, apart from the cows, also had to give a human being as compensation for the victim. This human being very often was a girl or a young woman. When she had married and given birth to a child, that child was regarded as a replacement for the murdered person. The other two cows were killed and eaten by all the members of the community. When they had eaten the two cows, the *sele dami* before leaving, admonished the townspeople and the murderer in particular, not to repeat this bad deed (cf. Holleman p. 75). If he did, he was likely to be sold as a slave. The father of the murderer repeated the same words to his son.

The communal eating of the cows had a dual purpose. One was to harmonize matters when the trial was over, the other was a warning to all those present: "If you do not behave yourselves, you may have to pay the next time". This eating was a demonstration of the fact that all was well in the community again (cf. Bohannan pp. 66 f, Holleman pp. 3, 11).

If the murderer and his immediate family were unable to deliver two cows at once, the two children handed over at the beginning of the trial were given as pawns. In general, it was easier for the manslayer than the murderer to deliver two cows on the spot as not only his immediate family but also his quarter people supported him in this case (cf. Germann pp. 81 f).

The fine was the same for murder and manslaughter and the only difference seems to have been the amount of support given the murderer and the manslayer respectively. It was maintained that when the white chickens and the two cows had been eaten there existed no hard feelings towards the culprit. He did not have to leave town and there would be no talk "behind his back". If a woman had committed a murder, the case was handled by the *sele domi*, not by the women's society as in the case of other crimes. There was no difference in procedure and punishment for men and women in case of murder. A murder within the *Gbelay sele* was looked upon as a serious crime as they all regard themselves as related, deriving from one father. They do not feel the same about other towns and people from the outside (cf. Evans-Pritchard p. 27). If they killed somebody from the outside, they expected fighting as a consequence. Towns within the *Gbelay sele*, however, did not fight each other. As an example it was said that if a man from Bapa was killed in Gbapa and the *sele domi* of Gbapa did not call in the other chiefs, Bapa would have "declared war" on Gbapa. This did not mean that there came to any actual fighting, the "declaration of war" was a mere expression of that they disliked the way in which the chief of Gbapa was handling the case.

Bloodshed was abhorred (cf. Gibbs, 1962, p. 346 footnote 14, Holas p. 146) but all my informants stated that a murderer was never executed. This is supported by Schwab (p.434) "Killing is a very bad thing. No one kills another except in war." (cf. also Westermann p. 103). Dennis (p. 281) reports death penalty in certain cases from the Gbande. Schwab, however, continues: "All the Liberian informants insisted that whoever deliberately kills another person in any way except by "witching" is punishable by death." Germann (p. 79) reports that a murderer was burned to death.

## Woman palaver

The most common cases in the past were woman palavers of which the majority concerned adultery, a few cases were about abduction.

If your wife has committed adultery you will experience this in many ways: you may hurt yourself with your cutlass when working on the farm, you will have conflicts with other people who misinterpret what you are saying, when you go hunting you will have no luck and you will not catch anything in your traps.

When a man notices these signs he knows that his wife has committed adultery. He then asks her to confess the name(s) of her lover(s). If she refuses, he will ask for a sasswood ordeal. If he has more than one wife and none reveals the name of her lover, all of them have to go through the ordeal.

As adultery is regarded a family-palaver, the matter is handled within the family or quarter. A "specialist" administered the ordeal, in this case the hot iron was used. A cutlass was placed in the fire and heated until it was read. The "specialist" smears oil on his arm and tests the red-hot cutlass on himself, this test causes no burns. He then smears oil on the leg of the woman. If she shows no burns she is proven not guilty.

A woman proven guilty had to reveal the name of her lover who had to pay the fine of one cow. This cow was kept by the wronged husband as his property. If the lover could not pay the fine he could be given as a pawn and had to work for the husband until his own family could produce a cow.

Abduction was regarded a more serious crime than adultery. Some cases were regarded serious enough to behandled by the *sele dami* and all the *sele domia* of *Gbelay sele*. Also in the case of abduction, the fine was a cow. This cow, however, was eaten by those present to restore peace and harmony in the community.

## Land disputes

Land disputes seldom used to be difficult. Land was abundant and everybody knew that he could go and build himself a new village anywhere in the bush if he had troubles in his own town. Land disputes usually resulted from people of another town making a farm within another town's area. If this happened, the two *sele domia* involved met and together with the elders they solved the dispute.

## Fighting in town

One of the laws initiated by the *ki la* was "no fighting in town". This was a very strong law. If men were fighting, usually the only one who could stop the fighting was the *ge gôô*. If the fighting resulted in bloodshed, the fine was always a cow. "If the culprit had shed blood with a knife he was fined one cow plus ten cloths." (Harley, 1950, p. 14). A man who is hard pressed in a palaver, can run to the smithy to take refuge there. Fighting in the smithy which is closely connected with the Poro, is strictly forbidden. "The smithy is everywhere a place of refuge for fugitives from justice or from the wrath of others" (Schwab p. 433).

If women were fighting in town they were not separated and arrested by men but by some old women who also fined them. These old women were *zo* belonging to *lua gbôô*, the women's secret society (*Sande*). These old women on such occasions told men and children to go inside their houses. Only then could the women begin their trial. Men and children were not allowed to leave their houses until the dispute had been settled and the fines paid. Fines paid by women were, in ranking order; 1) Sheep 2) Rice, one kinjah, a kind of basket 3) Salt, "rock salt" from the north 4) Palm oil 5) Benni seeds.

As in the men's case, the fines were eaten at a meal in which everybody participated.

## Theft

Stealing used to be rare, at least compared to what it is today, it was often maintained. This is probably true, but was theft really that rare in the past? In 1970 I was discussing this topic in a Sapo town. I got the same answer from my Sapo informant who, however, was immediately interrupted by an old man stating that thefts used to be common also in the past. Schwab (p. 440) writes about the thief in Mano and Gio (Dan) that he "could formerly be seized and sold." Of the Gbande Dennis (pp. 272 f) reports that theft is "considered one of the worst crimes and in the old traditional Gbande culture carries the penalty of death by burning."

The Mano used to have "lightning medicine" as a threat against stealing, lightning would strike the thief. They used to have great respect for that medicine so therefore very few people did steal. This medicine was controlled by a certain man in town who, it was maintained, was not a *zo.* I was told by several informants that especially in the town of Sakimpa, north of Sanniquelli, there lived men who could produce lightning, even in broad daylight and without a cloud in the sky.

It was not regarded as stealing to take cassava from another person's farm if one was hungry (cf. Dennis pp. 275 f). One only took the cassava and placed a leaf over the hole in the ground to indicate that a friend had been there. It could happen that a person did not care to make a cassava farm of his own but always satisfied his needs from other people's farms. If caught when taking cassava, he was brought to town where he became the laughing-stock of everybody. Nothing more was done to him but this was regarded as bad enough. Cases of theft were taken care of by the *plei domi*, the *sele domi* refused to consider such cases.

## Witchcraft

The fear of witchcraft is still very strong. It is therefore considered a very serious thing to accuse somebody of being a witch or rather having a witch (cf. Zetterström, 1976, p. 90).

A person who had been convinced of witchcraft was killed by means of a poison called *gli* (cf. Bohannan p. 46 f, Dennis p. 268, Schwab p. 428 footnote 21), also called sasswood, *Erytrophleum guineense* (6).

Witch palavers were handled by the courts. A person accused of being a witch had to prove his innocence (cf. Schwab p. 427). He did so by fetching a piece of *gli* bark from the forest. He carried this piece of bark on his head and when he had returned to town said: "You have accused me of being a witch. I have now brought *gli* to prove that I am not."

Now the *sele domi* asked representatives from all the quarters in town to go and fetch pieces of bark. When they returned, they prepared the medicine. This must not be done by anybody who was related to the accused or the deceased in case the accused was suspected of having caused somebody's death. Two persons then argued in front of the *gli* so that it would make the correct decisions. One told the *gli* that the accused was guilty of witchcraft, the other that he was not. The accused now had to drink the poison. If he was guilty the poison killed him, if not he would vomit and survive the ordeal (cf. Himmelheber p. 62, Zetterström, 1976, p. 93). Schwab (pp. 434 f) writes:

"If a person suspected or accused of killing another by witchcraft, or known to have done so, confesses the fact either voluntarily or after being questioned, he usually gets off with only a fine. The amount of this fine depends upon the relationship of the bewitched person to the "witch" and also upon their social status. He may even be allowed to go entirely free. But denial of having "bewitched" the person so that he dies, is a serious palaver. When this is done, the accused can establish his innocence only by submitting to trial by ordeal. There is no escape from this. -- In Mano, if he is accused and confesses, he will make the payment required."

If the person died, some informants maintain that he was given a normal burial whereas others say that the body was hacked to pieces and thrown into the river or that it was simply disposed of somewhere in the bush.

There is no indication of that autopsies were performed to establish whether a deceased person was a witch or not. Harley (1970 p. 193) and Himmelheber (p. 197) report such autopsies for the Mano and the Dan. Westermann writes of the Kpele that a person who had been proven guilty of witchcraft was burned to death (cf. Volz p. 110).

## Conclusion

The Mano court proceedings were of an obviously legal character. It was a court of law that listened to the complaints of the parties involved and it had to find a way through the often conflicting testimonies and finally arrive at some conclusion on the case at hand.

In comparison to Bantu judicial proceedings, those of the Mano seemed to be more formalized. Judgment was based not only on evidence but also on preknowledge of certain relevant facts. The judicial process can be understood in terms of restoration of the social balance. It appears as if the object of law was not so much revenge and punishment as the restoring of peace and balance. The Mano very often in this context use expressions like "harmony" and to "harmonize matters" (cf. Zetterström, 1975, p. 19). It was very important for the survival of the community that the court managed to restore the upset balance. That it often succeeded is evident from statements saying that no hard feelings existed between the parties when the trial was over. The judgment of the court is important for the future relations of the parties involved, relations which have a great import on the life of the community itself.

## Footnotes

(1) Zetterström, 1976, pp. 10 ff. According to some informants, their original name was Mana. This name, however, is known to few Mano today.

(2) Ibid. p. 17, *Ya mein* means "on the other side" or "behind the Ya River".

(3) Ibid. p. 74.

(4) Cf. Bohannan p. 12.

(5) Cf. Zetterström, 1976, p.103, 1980, pp. 47 f.

(6) The term "sasswood" is in Liberia used for many other ordeals such as the hot iron, the boiling water or palm oil ordeals.

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# BERÄTTELSE FÖR 1987

Etnografiska Museets råd har under året haft följande sammansättning: ordförande Siv Falkensson, vice ordförande Ulf Staafgård samt ledamöterna organisationssekreterare Dragan Dobromirovic, professor Gunnar Harling, lektor Kjell-Arne Martelius, professor Magnus Mörner, ombudsman Kitt Rehn-Magnusson, studiesekreterare Aina Thornblad samt speciallärare Anita Torstensson.

Rådet har sammanträtt den 16/1, 8/5 och 9/10.

Under året har omfattande arbeten ägt rum i kvarteret. Nytt tak har lagts på Wilsonska flygeln. Dräneringsarbeten på gården har slutförts och synes ha varit framgångsrika, "Bäcksins källare" har, efter att en tid ha kallats för "Bäckens källare", nu återfått sitt gamla namn.

Under sommaren konstaterades insektsangrepp i huset vilket medförde omfattande saneringsarbeten i utställningar och magasin.

Statens kulturråd beviljade 426.000 för utrustning till ett projekt rörande museets arkeologiska textilier.

Arbetet med att utveckla metoder för att rädda museets bildmaterial, för vilket vi erhållit medel från Hasselbladsstiftelsen, fortsätter.

## Föremålsstatistik

Då museets magasin är fyllda till bristningsgränsen har vi blivit tvungna att kraftigt begränsa insamlingen av föremål.

Vi har under året registrerat 7 samlingar om totalt 30 föremål. Av dessa har 6 samlingar om 15 föremål erhållits som gåvor.

Den geografiska fördelningen är: Nordamerika (Navajo) 6, México 1, Nicaragua 2, Panamá 1, Bolivia 2, Papua Nya Guinea 3 och Thailand 15.

Gåvorna har erhållits av Chany Edman, Ustupu, San Blas, Panamá, Claes-Göran Isacsson, Helsingborg, professor Eskil Hultin, Stockholm, direktör Stig Nordborg, Hovås samt professor Henry Wassén, Göteborg.

## Bibliotek, arkiv och kataloger

**Referensbiblioteket** har ökat med 500 titlar till 29500. Av dessa är köp 168, byte 184, gåvor 146 och egen produktion 2.

Institutioner som bidragit med gåvor är: Folkbiblioteket Vilhelmina, Göteborgs Historiska Museum, Göteborgs Universitet, International Association of

Sound Archive Nordic Branch, Stockholm, Malmö Museum, Mercedes Benz, Brasilien, Riksarkivet, Riksutställningar, SIDA, Statens Invandrarverk, Statens Kulturråd.

Enskilda givare: Konservatorsass. Gunilla Amnehäll, Göteborg, Dr. Martha B. Anders, Toronto, Ontario, Stud. Per Cornell, Göteborg, Museilärare Magnus Dahlbring, Göteborg, Hr. Christer Fransson, Göteborg, Mr Carl A. Fromell, Los Angeles, Sra. Dominique Gallois, Sao Paulo, Professor Sture Lagercrantz, Uppsala, Lektor Josef Lagergren, Linköping, Srta. Patricia Lissa, Argentina, Professor Magnus Mörner, Göteborg, Docent Jarl Nordbladh, Göteborg, Mr Oscar Prada Domecq, Stockholm, Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, Bogotá, Hr. Edvin Salas Russo, Stockholm, Hr. Sam Samuelsson, Stockholm, Fru Ingrid Taylor, Göteborg, Professor S. Henry Wassén, Göteborg, Museichef Kjell Zetterström, Göteborg.

**Bildarkivet** har ökat med 8 bilder till totalt 21617
**Negativarkivet** omfattar 13302 negativ
**Diabildsarkivet** har ökat med 451 bilder till 5238
**Kartarkivet** har ökat med 5 kartor till totalt 443
**Ljudbandsarkivet** har ökat med 3 band till 20
**Grammofonarkivet** har ökat med 5 skivor till 539
**Pressklipparkivet** har ökat avsevärt. Jag vill här framföra museets varma tack till Carl A. Fromell, Los Angeles, som regelbundet sänder oss artiklar ur amerikansk press.

## Utåtriktad verksamhet

Under året har museet visat utställningarna "Regnskogens Folk" - om Mano-folket i norra Liberia samt "Vapen och Kuriosa" som visar föremål inkomna före 1861. I museets entré visade vi föremål från Indonesien.

Under hösten öppnades utställningen "Karavan" som behandlade Saudi Arabiens kultur och historia. Utställningen hade producerats av Ali Osman, Göteborg, i samarbete med museet.

Temat för onsdagskvällarna under våren var den zigenska kulturen.

4/3 Docent Carl-Axel Silow berättar om varifrån zigenarna ursprungligen kommer, samt hur de är spridda runt om i världen.

11/3 Olof Nyström, som arbetar i "Projektgruppen för Romer" i Malmö, talar om "Kulturkrockar, finns dom? Möten mellan svenskar och zigenare".

18/3 Astrid Hagert föreläser om "Kulturella repertoarer och etniska strategier".

25/3 Fil.Dr. Carl-Herman Tillhagen berättar om "Zigenare i Sverige. Statliga insatser för zigenare".

1/4 Docent Karl-Olov Arnstberg, som till vardags arbetar på Nordiska Museet i Stockholm, berättar om "Kulturmöten mellan zigenare och svenskar".

8/4 Sima Millon berättar om zigenare och svarar på frågor.

På onsdagskvällarna under hösten demonstrerade vi några av museets samlingar.

28/10 Museichef Kjell Zetterström visar sin Mano-samling, insamlad i Liberia.

4/11 Josef Lagergren berättar om Tarahumara-indianderna i Mexico och visar föremål han samlat åt museet.

11/11 Intendent Carl-Axel Silow berättar om, och förevisar, sin "apotekssamling" från Egypten. Visste ni att medel som gör kvinnor feta, är bland de mest sålda apoteksvarorna i Kairo?

18/11 Göran Johansson, som samlat föremål för museet för Nordjemen, berättar i Islam-utställningen om "sina" föremål.

25/11 1:e intendent Sven-Erik Isacsson berätttar om Chocó-indianerna, vilka lever i Panamás och Colombias regnskogar. I samband därmed visar han föremål som han själv och hans föregångare Erland Nordenskiöld och Henry S. Wassén insamlat.

# Övrig verksamhet

Sportlovsveckan, 9/2 - 15/2, var fylld med aktiviteter.

Vi höll Öppet Hus i samarbete med Kursverksamheten. Dessa aktiviteter är för både barn och vuxna:

25/1 Indianska prydnader. Vi prövar på att göra indianska pärlarbeten, smycken och prydnader.

1/2 Fjäderarbeten. Vi prövar peruansk fjädermosaik och fjäderarbeten i form av pannband.

8/2 Masker. Vi gör masker av papp eller gips. Medan de torkar tittar vi på museets masker.

15/2 Garnmåleri. Huicholindianerna i Mexico använder vax och garn till praktfulla tavlor. Kom och pröva på att göra egna tavlor.

22/2 Musiklek. Vi gör enkla musikinstrument, spelar och sjunger.

1/3 Garn- och frömåleri. Huicholindianerna använder garn och vax till praktfulla tavlor. Man kunde också använda vackra stenar och olika sorters frön. Kom och pröva själv!

8/3 Masker. Vi gör masker av papp, påsar eller gips. Medan de torkar tittar vi på museets masker.

15/3 Fjäderarbeten. Vi prövar på peruansk fjädermosaik och gör pannband.

22/3 Tygtryck. Vi trycker tyger och låter museets textilier inspirera oss. Medtag gärna eget tyg.

29/3 Fingerdockor. Vi gör fingerdockor och kanske hittar på något litet spel om Du har lust.

På lördagar har vi genomfört en programserie under temat "Möt världens kulturer - musik och dans på Etnografiska Museet".

3/10 Göteborgs internationella folkdansklubb dansar Balkandanser.

10/10 Musik och sång av kroatiska föreningen Sokadija.

17/10 Balinesiska danser framförda av Hanni Kallberg.

24/10 Ungdomar från grekiska föreningen underhåller.

31/10 Eddy Toyray från Gambia berättar om och sjunger sånger från sitt hemland.

7/11 Candela - danser från Colombia.

14/11 Thailändska barn dansar inhemska danser.

21/11 Estniska folkdanslaget Veskimäe dansar till dragspelsmusik.

28/11 Zanoubia - arabiska danser.

I samarbete med ABF har vi hållit två kurser: musiklek för barn och vävverkstad för barn och vuxna och i samarbete med Kursverksamheten arrangerade vi en studiecirkel med temat "Resa i Sydostasien".

Vi har dessutom på olika sätt medverkat i sex utställningsprojekt utanför museet.

## Inre verksamhet

Museet har inköpt en dator och förhoppningen är nu att vi så småningom skall kunna börja registrera museets samlingar på data.

Ett omfattande arbete har lagts ner på att sanera framför allt utställningarna från insekter.

Revision av samlingar har pågått fortlöpande.

## Undervisning

Museet har besökts av 6.592 inbokade skolelever. I denna siffra är ej de handledda besöken i museets öppna förskola inräknade, ej heller de elever som besökt museets vandringsutställningar som visats på biblioteken i de norra stadsdelarna.

Intresset för studiedagar för lärare och förskolepersonal har ökat. Omkring 100 hemspråkslärare har getts utbildning på museet.

Den öppna förskolan, OASEN, hade i februari varit verksam i två år vilket celebrerades med ett seminarium för politiker, förvaltningsföreträdare och museimän. Verksamhetsformerna har under året utvecklats så att vi nu har balans mellan den museala och den övriga verksamheten i OASEN.

## Personalia

| | |
|---|---|
| Museichef | Kjell Zetterström |
| Assistent, expedition | Maj-Britt Berglund (halvtid från 9/11) |
| | Sigrid Svensson (halvtid från 1/11) |
| Intendent, Amerikas kulturer | Sven-Erik Isacsson |
| Intendent, Afrika/Asien | Carl Axel Silow |
| Bibliotek | Ingrid Taylor |
| Kanslist | Toomas Tomasson |
| Sakregister | Michael Cornell |
| Intendent, föremålskatalog | Christer Feiff |
| Konservatorsassistent | Gunilla Amnehäll |
| Museitekniker | Alf Bergström (pensionerad 31/3) |
| Museitekniker | Enar Carlsson |
| Konservator | Katarina Lorentzon (1/1-30/6) |
| Magasinsföreståndare | Jan Amnehäll |
| Utställningsformgivare | Ingrid Midsem |
| Fotograf | Öystein Brochs |
| Intendent, undervisning | Lotten Zetterström |
| Museilärare | Magnus Dahlbring |
| | Linda Olvsbjörk |
| | Jane Overland (-11/9) |
| | Anna Klara Zetterström (7/1-26/1) |

Under året har tre medarbetare lämnat oss. Michael Cornell, som under många år arbetat med vårt sakregister, övergick i februari till annan verksamhet. Musietekniker Alf Bergström började på museet 1970 och gick i pension den 31/3. "Affes Paffes" specialitet var egentligen att tillverka små lådor men han hjälpte även till med att bygga utställningar och annat. Vi saknar Din lite buttra humor och önskar Dig allt gott!

Toomas Tomasson, kanslist, avled den 11 november efter en tids sjukdom. Toomas svarade bl.a. för utskriften av våra årstryck. Toomas var en plikttrogen och noggrann medarbetare med en finstämd humor som vi alla saknar.

## Publikationer

**Hultin, Eskil, Wassén, S. Henry and Bondesson, Wolmar, 1987:**
*Papain in Moche Blood Ceremonies.* Journal of Ethnopharmacology, 19 227-228. (Elsevier Scientific Publishers Ireland Ltd.)

**Isacsson, Sven-Erik, 1987:**
*The Egalitarian Society in Colonial Retrospect: Emberá Leadership and Conflict Management under the Spanish, 1660-1810.* Skar & Salomon (eds.): Natives and Neighbors in South America. Anthropological Essays. Etnologiska Studier 38:97-129. Göteborg.

**Rosengren, D., 1987:**
*In the Eyes of the Beholder.* Etnologiska Studier 39. Göteborg.

**Skar, H.O. and Salomon, F. (eds.), 1987:**
*Natives and Neighbors in South America.* Anthropological Essays. Etnologiska Studier 38. Göteborg.

**Torres, C.M., 1987:**
*The Iconography of South American Snuff Trays and Related Paraphernalia.* Etnologiska Studier 37. Göteborg.

**Wassén, S. Henry, 1987:**
*Halleys komet även i mayanska inskriptioner.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:35-38. Göteborg.

**Wassén, S. Henry, 1987:**
*Om Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld 1832-1901, vars son Erland (1877-1932) blev Göteborgs legendariske indianforskare.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:39-45. Göteborg.

**Wassén, S. Henry, 1987:**
*Några indianska kulturväxter okända i Gamla världen före 1492.* Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:46-58. Göteborg.

**Wassén, S. Henry, 1987:**
*"Ulluchu" in Moche Iconography and Blood Ceremonies: The Search for Identification*. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:59-85. Göteborg.

**Zetterström, Kjell, 1987:**
*Berättelse för 1985*. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:3-9, Göteborg .

**Zetterström, Kjell, 1987:**
*Berättelse för 1986*. Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, Årstryck/Annals 1985/86:10-15. Göteborg .

Göteborg i oktober 1989

Kjell Zetterström
Museichef

# BERÄTTELSE FÖR 1988

Etnografiska Museets råd har under året haft följande sammansättning: ordförande Siv Falkensson, vice ordförande Ulf Staafgård samt ledamöterna organisationssekreterare Dragan Dobromirovic, professor Gunnar Harling, lektor Kjell-Arne Martelius, professor Magnus Mörner, ombudsman Kitt Rehn-Magnusson, studiesekreterare Aina Thornblad och speciallärare Anita Torstensson.

Rådet har sammanträtt den 29/1, 9/9 och 25/11.

Under årets första hälft ägnades mycken tid åt sanering av utställningar och magasin efter konstaterade insektsangrepp i hela Ostindiska kvarteret. Då eskimåutställningen redan tidigare varit utsatt för insektsangrepp beslöt vi att helt ta ned densamma.

Ett nytt magasin har inretts i den del av sydamerikautställningen som varit avsedd för västkustens indiankulturer.

Under året har vi överfört praktiskt taget alla våra arkeolgiska textilier till Västsvensk konservatorsateljé.

En förstudie om ett nytt etnografiskt museum i Handelstidningens gamla hus har genomförts av arkitekt Göran Arvidsson, Fastighetskontoret, i samarbete med museets personal. Denna förstudie har presenterats för museinämnden. 1:e intendent Sven-Erik Isacsson har besökt Colombia tre månader inom ramen för ett biståndsprojekt bland Chocó-indianerna. Medel för projektets fortsatta genomförande har sökts från SIDA av museet och organisationen Globträdet. 1:e intendent Sven-Erik Isacsson, intendent Lotten Zetterström och i någon mån, undertecknad har deltagit i planeringen av projektet "Sverige och Tredje Världen" tillsammans med personal från Folkens Museum och Riksutställningar.

## Föremålsstatistik

Under året har 17 samlingar om sammanlagt 69 föremål registrerats. Av dessa föremål har 28 erhållits i gåva, 24 köpts och 17 insamlats av museets personal.

Den regionala fördelningen är: Nordamerika (Navajo) 1, Mellanamerika 10, Sydamerika 34, Europa 1, Afrika 2, Indonesien 6 och Filippinerna 15. Givare är professor Bengt Hubendick, Göteborg, professor Eskil Hultin, Stockholm, M. Mwambayi Kalengayi, Kinshasa, Zaire, professor Sture Lagercrantz, Uppsala, herr Stig Oskarsson, Angered samt professor Henry Wassén, Göteborg.

## Bibliotek, arkiv och kataloger

**Referensbiblioteket** har ökat med 500 titlar till jämt 30.000.

Av ökningen utgörs 173 av köp, 235 av byten, 90 av gåvor och egen produktion 2.

Institutioner som bidragit med gåvor är: Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet, The Art Institution of Chicago, Föreningen Fjärde Världen, Solna, Gallerie Vömel, Düsseldorf, Göteborgs Konstmuseum, Kinesiska Folkrepublikens Ambassad, Stockholm, Samfundet för Ostasiatisk forskning, Stockholm, SIDA, Statsbiblioteket, Århus, Statskontoret, Svenska Ambassaden, Bogotá och Svenska Museiföreningen.

Enskilda givare: dr. Jan G. Bruhn, Järfälla, intendent Gunilla Eriksson, Lund, dr. Christian F. Feest, Wien, hr. Carl A. Fromell, Los Angeles, hr. Evald Göthberg, Lerum, fil.dr. Alf Hornborg, Uppsala, 1:e intendent Sven-Erik Isacsson, Göteborg, dr. Alan L. Kolata, Chicago, professor Sture Lagercrantz, Uppsala, Anthony J. P. Meyer, Paris, ing. C. Olivetti, Milano, dr. Helinä Rautavaara, Helsingfors, professor G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, Bogotá, dr. Berta Ribeiro, Rio de Janeiro, dr. Massimo Squillacciotti, Rom, arkitekt SAR Ola Torräng, Västra Frölunda, dr. Gustaaf Verswijwer, Genève, professor S. Henry Wassén, Göteborg och museichef Kjell Zetterström, Göteborg.

**Bildarkivet** har ökat med 85 bilder till 21.702.
**Ljudbandsarkivet** har ökta med två nummer.
**Kartarkivet** har ökat med tre till toalt 446.
**Grammofonarkivet** har ökat med tre till 542.
**Pressklipparkivet** har ökat genom kontinuerlig bevakning av in- och utländsk press. Ett särskilt tack går till Mr. Carl A. Fromell, Los Angeles, som regelbundet sänder oss klipp ur nord- och sydamerikansk press.

## Utåtriktad verksamhet

Följande utställningar har under året visats på museet: "Regnskogens Folk" om Mano-folket i norra Liberia, "Vapen och Kuriosa" - föremål från tiden före 1861, "Karavan" - om Saudiarabiens kultur och historia, "Folk och Dräkter"- dockor gjorda av Caroline Ditleff-Buchberger, Malmö, "Små barn - små bekymmer?", "Rotlös kunskap", "Afrikana" -afrikanska masker och skulpturer ur museets magasin.

"Rotlös kunskap" är en utställning som museet producerade till kunskapsmässan i Göteborg där den rönte stort intresse. Den har en tid gått som vandringsutställning.

Söndagen den 6 mars gästades museet av Mwambayi Kalengayi, museiman och artist från Kinshasa, Zaire. Vid sitt framträdande på museet gestaltade han tre afrikanska sagor genom tal, sång, dans och musik. Föreställningen finns upptagen på videokassett.

Programmet för vårens onsdagskvällar såg ut på följande sätt:

9/3 ALEUTERNA - dimman och stormarnas land. Kate Kärrberg berättar till bilder om en äventyrlig resa till Alaskas ö-värld.

16/3 Medlemmar från Sällskapet Sverige-Sovjetunionen berättar om resor de gjort i Sovjetunionen.

23/3 Gull-May Lindström, som i två böcker beskrivit trädplanteringsprojekten i Kenya som rena falsarierna, kommer till museet.

30/3 Medlemmar från Sällskapet Sverige-Sovjetunionen berättar om resor de gjort i Sovjetunionen.

6/4 Medlemmar i Sällskapet Sverige-Sovjetunionen berättar om resor de gjort i Sovjetunionen.

13/4 TINITEQILAQ - en liten eskimåby på Östgrönland. Kate Kärrberg tar oss med hjälp av bilder, med till byn där gamla traditioner fortfarande lever kvar i det dagliga livet.

Övriga aktiviteter under våren var "Jorden Runt med Etnografiska Museet" - etnografisk verkstad i samarbete med Kursverksamheten. Där ges besökarna tillfälle att göra masker, musikinstrument och fjäderarbeten. Verkstaden var öppen söndagar 24/1 - 27/3.

På lördagar, 6/2 - 26/3, fick besökarna möta "Världens Kulturer i Musik och Dans". Barn och vuxna presenterade sin kultur genom sång, musik och dans.

Höstens onsdagskvällar behandlade följande temata:

26/10 "Intryck från Turkiet 1977-1987". Marie Carlsson visar bilder och talar om turkiska variationer.

9/11 Kanadensiska indianer - Magnus Dahlbring visar bilder och berättar.

16/11 Representanter för Amnesty International kommer till museets och berättar om sin verksamhet.

23/11 "Svensk vapenexport till krig - en fullkomligt orimlig tanke" -Svenska Freds talar till bilder.

30/11 "På utflykt till paradiset - Maldiverna". Socialantropolog Monica Hanefors visar bilder och berättar om sitt fältarbete på Maldiverna i Indiska Oceanen.

7/12 Sven-Erik Isacsson visar bilder och berättar om de två resor han under året företagit till Colombia.

Verksamheterna "Jorden Runt med Etnografiska Museet" och "Möt Världens Kulturer i Musik och Dans" fortsatte under hösten.

Till utställningen "Före Picasso" på Liljevalchs konsthall i Stockholm har museet bidragit med ett femtiotal afrikanska masker och skulpturer.

## Inre verksamhet

Insektssanering av magasin och utställningar har fortsatt. Hela Ostindiska kvarteret sanerades av Anticimex den 2-6/5. Känsligt material som fjäder, päls, skinn, textil och basttyger har förts över till nytt magasin intill Sydamerika-utställningen.

I början av året fick museet en ny allmänkonservator som under året i huvudsak ägnat sig åt keramik.

Textilkonservatorn har vårdat och magasinerat f. museichefen Kauderns samling av basttyger från Sulawesi. Hon har också medverkat i överflyttningen av de arkeologiska textilierna till Västsvensk konservatorsatelјé. I samband med överflyttningen har nya inventarielistor upprättats.

## Undervisning

Antalet elever i handledda grupper har varit 9.816. Öppna förskolan har besökts av över 7.200 personer.

Undervisningsavdelningen har under året medvetet arbetat med att utveckla pedagogiska metoder dels för det egna arbetet, dels genom att till lärare och förskollärare på studiedagar förmedla kunskaper om hur museet kan bidra till barns utveckling.

Under hösten har vi genomfört ett speciellt program för förberedelseklasser med flykting- och invandrarbarn som talar mycket dålig svenska. Programmet, som blev mycket framgångsrikt, genomfördes med särskilda medel från anslaget "Kultur i Skolan".

## Personalia

| | |
|---|---|
| Museichef | Kjell Zetterström |
| Assistent, expedition | Maj-Britt Berglund (1/2-tid t.o.m. 30/9) |
| | Sigrid Svensson (1/2-tid t.o.m. 28/10) |
| Intendent, Amerikas kulturer | Sven-Erik Isacsson |
| Intendent, Afrika/Asien | Carl Axel Silow |
| Bibliotek | Ingrid Taylor |
| Intendent, föremålskatalog | Christer Feiff |
| Konservatorsassistent, textil | Gunilla Amnehäll |
| Konservator | Farzaneh Bagherzadeh |
| Museitekniker | Enar Carlsson |
| Magasinsföreståndare | Jan Amnehäll |
| Utställningsformgivare | Ingrid Midsem |
| Fotograf | Öystein Brochs |
| Intendent, undervisning | Lotten Zetterström |
| Museilärare | Magnus Dahlbring |

## Publikationer

**Skar, Harald O., 1988:**
*The Warm Valley People.* Etnologiska Studier 40. Göteborg.

**Wassén, S. Henry: 1988:**
*Apuntes sobre Grupos Meridionales de Indígenas Chocó en Colombia.* El Greco Impresores. Bogotá.

För lämnat tryckningsbidrag framför jag mitt varma tack till Wilhelm och Martina Lundgrens Vetenskapsfond i Göteborg.

Göteborg i oktober 1989

Kjell Zetterström
Museichef

# Etnologiska Studier

*Published at intervals as opportunity permits but numbered serially.*
*1 - 25 are out of print.*

26. *Estudios Chocoes. I.* **S. Henry Wassén.** Ethnohistoria chocana y cinco cuentos Waunana apuntados en 1955, pp 1 - 78; II. **Nils M. Holmer,** Gramática comparada de un dialecto del Chocó, pp 79 - 248. Göteborg 1963. SEK 145.-.

27. **Nils M. Holmer and S. Henry Wassén.** *Dos cantos shamanisticos de los Indios Cunas.* 1. Serkan-Ikala, La Canción de los difuntos. 2. Tisla- Ikala, Canción Iniciatoria. Textos en Lengua cuna, anotados por el indio Guillermo Hayans con traducción española y comentarios. 151 pp. Göteborg 1963. SEK 125.-.

28. **S. Henry Wassén,** *The Use of Some Specific Kinds of South American Indian Snuff and Related Paraphernalia*. pp. 1 - 116. Appendix. **Georg J. Seitz,** *Einige Bemerkungen zur Anwendung und Wirkungsweise des Epena-Schnupfpulvers der Waika-Indianer*. pp. 117 - 132. Göteborg 1965. SEK 125.-.

29. **Karl Erik Knutsson,** *Authority and Change.* A Study of the Kallu Institution among the Macha Galla of Ethiopia. 239 pp. Göteborg 1967. SEK 145.-.

30. **Fritz W. Kramer,** *Literature among the Cuna Indians.* 166 pp. Göteborg 1970. SEK 125.-.

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